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# Near East/North Africa Report

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INTERVIEW WITH BEN BELLA ON SUBJECT OF ISLAM

Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Nov 80 p 9

[Interview with Ahmed Ben Bella by LE MONDE Special Correspondent Daniel Junqua:  
"Islam Can Contribute Much to the Modern World"]

[Text] Tlemcen.--Despite the early morning hour, barely 6 am, the vast drawing room of the large villa in a quiet street not far from the center of town is no longer big enough to accommodate the visitors. Chairs have been placed along the walls of the corridor. Sitting side by side men are waiting, making conversation. A typical Maghreb atmosphere where everyone is in good humor and busy passing cups of coffee, glasses of tea, pastries. The "president" is still resting: he was up late with friends come to greet him.

The "president" arrives, conservatively dressed in a grey suit a bit too big for him, clasping a plastic dressing case to his chest. A regular Hulot silhouette. An outline of a smile widens as he sees outstretched hands. The time for congratulations and effusiveness is past, and Mr Ahmed Ben Bella invites us to share his breakfast. The ex-head of state serves it himself. We sit on a mattress laid out on the floor. "Since being in prison I can't sleep in a bed anymore," he says laughingly, and he warns: "Do not expect any big political statements, they would be premature."

For his first days of a freedom he confirms to be total, without reservations or conditions, he wants to spend his time with his family, his friends, bring himself up-to-date on information, get "physically" back in touch with Algerian realities. Before coming to the region of Oran he stopped at Sétif and Batna. He bowed at the tomb of Ben Boulaid, one of the historic chiefs of the Algerian revolution, the first "boss" of the Aurès [group] then he returned to Mgahnia, his native village, first passing through Al Asnam.

At Tlemcen, where he points out "I did my studying" he meditated briefly at the tomb of Messali Hadj, the founding father of Algerian nationalism. "This gesture is symbolic," he tells us. "I believe deeply that we must work our way beyond what has separated us in the past, with those elements that are sincere. We often harbor resentment against the Palestinians over their divisions. But the Palestinians have gone way beyond us on the revolutionary level. They have reached a higher level of democratic organization, a capacity to accept the other fellow that would do us no harm."

"What Did the West Contribute to Us?"

"Had we been able to arrive at a common denominator between the MNA [Algerian National Movement] and the FLN [National Liberation Front] the future might have been better." In this same spirit Mr Ben Bella, while he was still in assigned residence in the governorate of M'Sila, went to pay his respects to the villagers of Mellouza, who during the war had been victims of a settling of accounts between rival factions.

[Question] You have become a mystic, an advocate of an Islamic society after the Iranian fashion, and some have even used the expression "the Ayatollah Ben Bella." Do you recognize yourself in this portrait?

[Answer] No. I have a lot of respect for the ayatollahs but that doesn't mean anything in the Algerian tradition. A Moslem I have always been. There's nothing new in that. Since age 17 I have always said my prayers."

"Islam," he said, "can contribute a lot to the modern world. An open, tolerant Islam can offer an alternative to a desiccating rationalism, to ideologies that are shipwrecked. I am fiercely opposed to an Islam that exuded fascism," he stated forcefully. "I have always been in favor of progress, and I remain so. Mystic? I am too much of a man of action for that and I feel quite incapable of reaching such peaks. I am not pure enough for that. On the other hand, I've read a lot and I have thought about what I have read at great length." He declares himself greatly moved by Alexis Carrel, Teilhard de Chardin, but also Ghazali\*.

"What has the West contributed to us?" he asks. "The society that is held up to us as a model is built upon tombs: that of the "red" race which can now only be found in history books. Its last representatives are located in North America and assassinated in South America. As for Black Africa, it would total 800 or 900 million inhabitants had it not been for the massacres and massive deportations by the "ebony traders." So much for the past. The present has blood dripping all over it too, whether it's the Gulag or the Nazi extermination camps, all that was born of a rationalism which raised to a dogma a coldly mathematical efficiency. And we have now come to the point of a consumer society that wastes natural resources and pollutes nature. I turn my back on this kind of logic. It leads to bankruptcy. The young have realized this. If they are turning to Islam, it is because they wish for a new sort of world that gives the spirit back its proper place. That being said, we do not reject the West as such, the West of Christ, Saint Augustine, the builders of cathedrals."

Mr Ben Bella grew very excited on this subject which is particularly close to him. The words flow, punctuated by hand movements. The door opens and his friend acting as "Chief of Protocol" tells the former Chief of State that new visitors have arrived and that he should receive them.

\*An Arab jurist, philosopher and mystic of the 11th century. Henri Laoust wrote a book about him, "La Politique de Ghazali," Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1970.

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INTERVIEW WITH AFGHAN REBEL EMISSARY

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 22 Nov 80 p 9

[Interview with Saduddin Shpoon, former UN official, date and place not given]

[Text] SADUDDIN SHPOON was a Professor of Afghan Literature in Kabul University and later became a United Nations information officer in the Afghan capital. His arrest was ordered by the Taraki government in September 1979, after which he, his wife and four children fled the country on foot for Pakistan. After eight days of walking, he reached Peshawar, where he remained a UN officer until April this year.

In April, the UN asked that he return to his post in Kabul, Mr Shpoon said, implying that the UN bureaucracy was insensitive to a Soviet-backed plot for his assassination in Kabul. The New York UN information officer communicated an unofficial Bulgarian delegation's assurance of his safety in Kabul, he said.

The refusal to return to his Soviet-occupied homeland cost him his UN job. He then joined the Mujahidin resistance movement.

Some two million Afghan refugees have been reported since the Soviet invasion, while another one million are believed to be dead. The total population was estimated in 1979 at 14 million.

Here are excerpts of an exclusive interview with the Afghan rebel emissary who flew into Madrid from Peshawar:

Q: What is the present state of unity or disunity in the Afghan resistance movement?

A: You have to divide the resistance into two parts. Firstly, there are some six political parties which act as liaison between the internal resistance and external air in money, equipment or information. But these parties are at odds with one another and they don't represent all the resistance fighters.

Q: A very small minority, I believe —

A: Yes, a very small percentage. The internal resistance is more or less united. They are more scattered rather than disunited, disorganised more than disunited.

Q: Who are the Mujahidin? How many are there?

A: Mujahid means a holy or independent warrior, anyone or everyone fighting the Soviet occupation calls himself a Mujahid. It is difficult to say how many there are exactly; it can be the villager who opposes the Soviet rulers. There's probably some 10,000 fighters but the potential force, let's say, is much greater.

We decided a frontal attack with the Soviets was impossible, so we developed guerrilla tactics and commando formation. We did this because our losses increasing; we couldn't afford that. It was probably one to 10.

We consider Soviet losses to be so far 4,000; we've lost 20,000.

Q: Is it true that the Afghan army which was estimated to be 100,000 before has been reduced to some 25,000, after desertions?

A: Yes, that figure is true.

Q: Where do these people go? Are they with you?

A: When they desert, they generally join us. Some of them leave the country as refugees, others stay inside to fight.

Most of them are young; they come straight from the army without their families.

Q: How many of you are travelling outside, like you?

A: At this moment,

there are at least 25 emissaries outside Pakistan but there are only seven with mandates from the internal resistance.

Q: Where have you been to or will travel to?

A: The US, Europe, some Arab countries, Indonesia.

Q: What will you say in Indonesia?

A: We have a common message; we try to establish credibility, correct figures like what we're doing here, explain the new situation.

We want to dispel doubts that leaders there might have over our disunity because they might doubt as to who to give their aid to. We argued that the Soviets don't really want Afghanistan for itself but as a springboard to the rest of the world, that the Soviets can be stopped, they are not invincible.

We want to tell them the particulars, how we have analysed the Soviet strategy, and where we're hitting the Soviets. We want to hit at the base of the Soviet war machinery economy and we want to do it effectively.



Q: Where are you exactly hitting them?

A: We have managed to analyse the Soviet military economy, disorganised as we have been. We see signs of it not only in Afghanistan, but in Vietnam. Soviet aid there this year was cut by half, the same for Cuba. The Soviets did not invade Poland.

The Soviets spend about US\$10 million a day—

I can't guarantee the authenticity of this figure but we have done surveys and we've always come to between US\$10 million and US\$20 million daily.

One helicopter cost about US\$1 million. I can't give you the exact number of helicopters that have been downed. But you no doubt have seen pictures.

O.K. tanks and armoured cars, there's no count because every three days, the Soviets clean off the highways of debris from tanks and armoured cars.

(He shows photos of such debris taken from the back seat of a car travelling on an Afghan highway.)

Q: What sort of equipment do you have to fight tanks and armoured cars?

A: (Lurching) We make our own bombs and mines, very crude, we capture from the enemy

after fighting, sometimes we improvise.

Q: What sort of improvisation?

A: They throw huge bombs (shows picture of these) and sometimes they don't explode. You know, Russian efficiency. And then we take the metal, melt it and use the powder. It's very difficult though, you have to be careful.

Q: Is all this happening in the day or only at night?

A: In the day as well as night. I'd say in the cities at night, out in the country during the day.

Q: So it's true that the Soviets have little control over the country at night?

A: Yes, very true. In the day, they have control over the cities. They would have to triple or quadruple their troop strength if they want to control the whole country in the day.

But by cities, we mean only Kabul and Mazar. In places like Herat (in the western border), they stay in their own barracks. They are afraid to come out. They can't buy things from the shops, they don't trust people. When they come out, they come out in their tanks.

Q: How do you actually describe "the new situation"?

A: They control Kabul, some airfields, some barracks, some forts. From these points, they make their "sorties." They bomb villages, depopulate areas.

Q: Like in the Paktia and Kunar valley regions, you mean?

A: Yes. When they do move out into the country on land, they do so in real, great bands, like maybe 400 tanks and armoured cars, well protected by helicopter gunships. That's when they come out for operation.

Q: How often are these?

A: When the Mujahidin attack the district headquarters or the highways or the governors' cantonments in the 29 provinces. They have a communication apparatus. When the Mujahidin attack, they call Kabul. Then you see the helicopters come in.

Q: The booby traps that the Soviet army used, are they no longer effective?

(Since five or six months ago, the Soviet army has been dropping plastic toys which explode when touched, causing many children to be maimed.)

A: No, these cheap tricks killed many civilians, children, shepherds, but people have become used to them. Now they have a strategy like a boa constrictor. They depopulate whole regions adjacent to the borders with Pakistan, to force the population to flee. They're devastating whole villages.

They also now have pre-fabricated little concrete blocks, with holes, for two people. They put these all along the highway and in the strategic areas that they depopulate.

Q: Are you saying this is being done everywhere along the border, in the Wakhan pashandle frontiers and along the Iranian borders?

A: No, mainly in the highways in the south where we have attacked. This is part of our guerilla warfare where we try to stop the enemy from gaining mobility. We travel only on foot.

The Wakhan is different. We don't really know what's happening there. We've sent an expedition there and until they come back, I can't really say.

Q: What is your suspicion?

A: My suspicion, and we do have some evidence also, is that they are trying to annex that part. We have 150 miles of border with China, they want to stop China from having access to Afghanistan.

And then they want to be a neighbour with Pakistan.

Q: What is the state of resistance there, do you know?

(The Pamir Plateau, which encompasses the Wakhan area close to China in the pashandle, was believed to be populated by some 200,000.)

A: It was very good when it started. There was Rahman Qui with his 4,000 horsemen who usually fended the Soviet outpost.

But now Rahman Qui has left. He's come across to Pakistan as a refugee. In Gilgit, one year ago

Q: How many Soviet troops are in the Wakhan?

A: Not very many. I don't think. All we know is that it's manned by helicopters. Some say they have installed radar apparatus there but we shall find out (referring to their expedition there).

Q: Do you think there is a plan with the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan, after annexing this region?

A: If they have to withdraw from Afghanistan, they will at least have Wakhan. It won't be for nothing that they invaded Afghanistan.

Q: You mentioned establishing international credibility. Can you tell me what will happen in Afghanistan if and when the Soviets do withdraw their troops. Will there be a scramble for power?

A: Well, as you know, we are not a political group. There will be ideological conflict but there won't be any large-scale bloodshed from a civil war.

The Mujahidin are listening to the radio, using new methods to elect new leaders. Political consciousness is much higher.

Q: What do you think you will achieve in the US?

A: We want to tell the American people that we are fighting their war. We need support. I have a shopping list — boots, walkie-talkies, binoculars, blankets for sub-zero temperatures — but I have no contacts there.

Q: What will happen if you don't get supplies?

A: We're going to die. Totally devastated. When a Russian Mi-24 attacks, we can only hide. No one has given us arms, 80 per cent of our arms come from the Soviet soldiers. They are the most generous "donors." — Reuter

BEN BELLA REVIEWS CURRENT SITUATION, NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Dec 80 p 6

[Interview with Ahmed Benn Bella at M'Sila, by Daniel Junqua; date not given]

[Text] M'Sila--After a tour of the main areas of Oranie, Ahmed Ben Bella returned for a weekend to his villa at M'Sila on the high plateaus, where he lived under house arrest for 18 months. He will soon leave the house for good to live in Algiers, where he has been since 29 November. However, until he establishes a permanent residence, his study, documents, library and notes -- notes to which he often referred during the long interview he granted us -- remain at M'Sila.

[Question] For nearly 15 years, you have been a kind of "man with the iron mask." And yet, you seem to have retained your full intellectual and physical powers. How have you managed to do so?

[Answer] For a long time, I lived in a sort of tomb because of the silence around me, not political silence, but complete silence, a total absence of communication. My only interlocutors were the walls of my cell. You cannot imagine how hard it is not to have anyone to talk to. It is a terrible test. What kept me going was first of all the feeling that they wanted to derange my mind. I therefore mobilized all my energy to meet the challenge. Especially, I decided not to dwell on bitterness, but rather, to look to the future, however fragile it might be. My faith also enabled me to hold on. Islam helped me.

Then one day, I felt God's hand when a woman agreed to share my life. Despite all the obstacles, all the difficulties, she remained with me. In that hell, I knew happiness, a happiness that became even fuller when we adopted children.

As soon as I was authorized to receive books and magazines, I began to read. I worked a lot to further my knowledge. I have not changed. My convictions have remained the same but I have matured. I have questioned certain schemes of things; I have gone over analyses whose inadequacies or limitations I discovered. One idea has remained with me: The problems of development are above all cultural in nature. That is perhaps the essential point of my intellectual itinerary during this period.

[Question] When you were arrested, serious accusations were made against you and your action. They spoke of "personal power," of "demagogy," questioned those around you.



(Ben Bella, frowning, stopped us with a wave of the hand.)

[Answer] I do not want to talk about that now. I will reply some day. Your question will not go unanswered, believe me. Simply remember that a "White Book" was to be published on the subject. It never was. That is already significant....

[Question] As soon as you came to power, you resolutely joined the camp of the nonaligned. Moreover, you were preparing to host a summit meeting of that organization when you were arrested. You were the friend of Castro, Tito, Nasser. Does nonalignment still have meaning for you?

[Answer] It is now clear that the problem of nonalignment is linked to the problem of the world capitalist order, of the Western order. If we had been able to create an alternative by means of the establishment of a solid, structured, credible movement, we would now be able to speak of nonalignment on real foundations. But to date, all attempts in that direction have been frustrated. Nonalignment still exists to the extent that it takes the North-South dialog as its responsibility. It is within that framework that it must be analyzed.

[Question] Can there be a dialog between the rich and the poor, between the rulers and those ruled, between the exploiters and the exploited?

[Answer] Such a dialog is not in fact any dialog at all. A true dialog takes place between equal partners. A dialog between satiated people holding all the trump cards and the poor, powerless people living in the "developing countries" is an invention of the West. We are trapped before we have even said a word, first of all, by the very words used to speak about it. The dialog is "North-South" and not "South-North." As for the term "development," it has so many different, even contradictory meanings that its very use becomes suspect. Yes, we are trapped first of all by the very concepts serving as a basis for discussion: by the Bretton-Woods accords, by the Bank of Chicago which sets the prices of grains, and more generally, by all the organizations that flourish in the Northern Hemisphere in order to perpetuate unequal trade before it is even sanctioned by the World Bank, IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], the IMF, the FAO, UNCTAD, the WHO, and others that I am not even mentioning. The Club of Rome itself participates in this recovery attempt because far from aiming at the disappearance of a system whose very principles are harmful, it tends, on the contrary, to reform it and therefore, to back it.

#### Industrialized Countries Dictate Their Law

[Question] Is that not a rather radical criticism?

[Answer] Not at all. I am simply calling a spade a spade. The dialog officialized after the "war of Ramadan," then the "oil war," ended in failure although it was strictly limited to economic aspects. Can one reach any other conclusion when one examines the results of the activity deployed by the host of organizations that are supposed to devote themselves to it? In a field as vital as agriculture, the FAO announces that the per capita growth in production of the Third World was...nil from 1950 to 1975. Consequently, it only followed population growth during those 25 years. What a pitiful balance sheet!

Maurice Guernier, from the Club of Rome, provides particularly significant figures in this connection. From 1970 to 1975, or in 5 years, individual income rose \$180 in the North, \$80 in the East and \$1 in the South.

Let us have no more illusions. Within the framework of the North-South dialog, none of the questions of concern to Third World countries was answered. Raw materials? Even with regard to oil, it is still the industrialized countries who make the law. When producers manage to obtain an increase, it is quickly eaten up by world inflation. Financial resources? Here again, the picture is dramatic. According to the World Bank and the IMP, the balance of payments of the underdeveloped countries grows steadily worse. From 1978 to 1979, in 12 months, the overall deficit went from \$32 billion to \$50 billion. Half of that deficit is made up of interest payments alone.

Has the Third World therefore become industrialized? It has not. In 1975, the Lima conference judged that industrial production of Third World countries should amount to one-fourth of world production by the year 2000. That objective already looks out of reach. The rate in 1980 is only 8.5 percent, progress of 1.5 points in 5 years. The world economic crisis that continues and even grows worse affects the poor countries the most. We have to see things clearly: The imbalances will only grow and in frightening proportions.

[Question] Is it solely the fault of the North? Does the Third World not bear part of the responsibility for the trend?

[Answer] There you are. The disastrous management of the planet goes back over five centuries, but what we are now witnessing is an attempt to shift responsibilities, an attempt to make the victims guilty. If nothing is going well in the world, it is naturally because of the evilness of the Arabs, who have the audacity to raise the price of oil and gas, now indispensable for the operation of a monstrous machine that was once so nice to them! It rendered them the service of doing away with a few, as in the case of the bloodletting which, between 1954 and 1962, eliminated 1.5 million in Algeria alone! We are also criticized for having too many children. Our frantic copulation, we are told, makes all the efforts made by the developed -- and civilized -- countries to aid us useless. They preach 0 population growth -- or something like it -- or, as Bouthoul wisely suggests, "demographic disarmament." But those same experts are careful not to wonder about the causes of this rabbitlike behavior.

Fecundity is the daughter of poverty and poverty comes to us from the Northern Hemisphere and its partners who rule us. They preach to us about the virtues of birth control, but the pill and sterility are ingredients from another world, another culture, a consumer society too different from our own, with the exception of the chairmen of the board of our national companies and their emulators, who constitute a tiny percentage in our underdeveloped world. What has happened in India with respect to birth control should be meditated upon. The meager results obtained are essentially to the detriment of the untouchables, which constitutes one more type of segregation. Economics must be adapted to man, not the reverse. Finally, it is worthwhile to recall that this problem already existed during the time of our Prophet and the Koran clearly rejects birth control for economic reasons.

I do not accept that we should be made guilty. I reject a contrived, moralizing dialog. In 1967, a Bolivian newspaper condemned the practices of certain farmers who, in order to defend themselves against the incursions of starving Sirionos Indians who were raiding their land, had placed enticing poisoned food in their fields. Many died.

We have more or less become the Sirionos in the Southern Hemisphere. We are already a little like those human wolves pacing back and forth before a garden jealously guarded by traps baited with poisoned food and called the IMF, IBRD, GATT. Their victims are called Zaire, Sudan, Egypt, Turkey. Forty-one Third World countries, overwhelmed by their debt, can no longer honor the obligations stemming from that debt: nearly \$400 billion that will turn into \$1.3 trillion and \$2 trillion in 20 years.

The North imposes its structures and criteria on us. We import more and more plants and equipment, but more wheat and food goods as well, and our dependency increases just that much more. How can one not think about what Napoleon said at the time of the continental blockade: "They are going to choke on hardware and go without bread." This sums up the situation of many underdeveloped countries perfectly.

[Question] In this Third World, you claim membership in the Arab world. You were very closely tied to Nasser and your cry, "We are Arabs! We are Arabs! We are Arabs!" has become a historic watchword. What meaning would you now give to it with respect to Algeria?

[Answer] I uttered that cry at a particular moment, when Algeria was gaining its independence. Tunisia and Morocco had gained their own a few years earlier and the people were asking themselves what was to become of the Maghreb.

Was it to take up the quarrel of the Arab East against imperialism, with all the cultural implications that such a struggle implied? Or on the contrary, was it to become isolated or even turn its back on the Arab world? Many hoped that this latter possibility would win out and a shrewd plan had already been put into effect in Morocco and Tunisia for the purpose. It was in a normalized, asepticized Maghreb that they were preparing to make room for the Algeria "of the fellahs," which frightened them, in order to back it into a corner. Then they could live among "serious-minded," well-bred people with a sheen of Western culture, bronzed French-speakers, as it were. The ship of the Maghreb could have sailed on a peaceful Mediterranean. That is what was in the planning and what would have swallowed up all our hopes and the best of ourselves.

#### Maghreb in Ruins

My cry therefore expressed a vehement rejection of that infamy. I uttered it in opposition to a man who symbolized it and who was preparing to become one of the most active servants of it: Bourguiba. The fact that Tunis now houses the home of the Arab League, facing Cairo, which has become the capital of betrayal, expresses, along with the political distress of the Arab world, the general ebb that has touched it.

My cry has never been so to-the-point. The evil foreseen has come about, at least in a relative way politically speaking. Fortunately, things are different in the



cultural domain. Here, the core of what we are, the irreducible core, Islam, has stood firm and nothing so far, not even our own neglect, has been able to touch it. Politically speaking, on the other hand, the damage is considerable. Arguing the Arab weakness, expressed in the 1967 defeat, Algeria has turned its eyes to the Maghreb, a serious-minded Maghreb, with a layer of rational culture, in contrast with an "inconsistent" Arab East rendered powerless by the nirvana of the word. There was a great deal of activity then in the Maghreb to form a counterbalance and they traveled back and forth from Ifrane to Tlemcen and from Tlemcen to Sakiel-Sidi-Youssef.

Many gracious deeds were done, and in order to show that here at least we were active, there was a gigantic operation to mark out the borders.

This lasted nearly a decade. Throughout all that time, what happened in October 1973 on the Canal, under the tent at Kilometer 101 (place of the first negotiations between the Egyptians and the Israelis), in Tell-Zaatar, southern Africa or elsewhere -- and which for a long time determined our fate -- did not truly interest us until the day when they started to take out the markers and for some 5 years, they have been doing so furiously.

That Maghreb, instead of being prudent and well-ordered as they would have wished, has become a *Makreb*, a ruin where mental forces were the more surely formed. Let us recall that the Saddam Hussein-Shah of Iran union came only yesterday under the auspices of Algeria, preparing for a war between Arab peoples, unthinkable 15 years ago in our world totally mobilized in its quest for greater dignity and unity.

This *Makreb* is more and more like the Mediterranean itself, increasingly polluted, now that we have swallowed up so many poisoned products and substances and turpitudes as well....

[Question] Do you believe that Algeria can blend into a great Arab nation?

[Answer] Why not? But why talk of a merger? Is there no other solution? Can we not simply envisage a pooling of what we need to set up a unit that is politically, economically and culturally viable thanks to a federal or confederal system? Can we not preserve the genius of each element making up the whole? Is Europe, torn apart more than we ever have been by two world wars, not trying to do this?

How can we fail to see that the weight of every Arab country, even the most powerful among us, is pitiful in the face of the gigantic economic and political concentrations of the future?

Do our common history, language and religion not plead for such a pooling of our physical and human potential?

What is more, the imperatives of the struggle for our survival in the economic system that is imposed on us point to the establishment of such a unit.

#### Berber Difference

[Question] There then remains the fundamental question: Can you reconcile the Arab identity and the Algerian identity?

[Answer] The Arab identity, the Arab culture which is its basis, does not include the notion of race. The overwhelming majority of the Algerians are Berbers. Some only speak Arabic, others the Berber dialect and yet others speak both, but the overwhelming majority of the Algerians are of the Arab culture, just as the Swahili or the Somalis. Let us add to this the fact that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between Arab culture and Islamic culture given the extent to which the former is bathed in Islam.

It is true that the "Arabness" of Christians and Jews living in Arab lands is related to another problem, that of the minorities sharing another faith and living in Islamic lands. The problem of the Arabic language does not exist because it is the mother tongue of these minorities.

These observations clarify debates now going on in Algeria but they do not exhaust them. There are those who have tried to see two contradictory claims here. In truth, they are complementary. The fact that Berber lives and grows alongside the Arabic language is not an amputation but rather, an enrichment. The contribution of Berber is not only in Kabylia, but rather, belongs to all Algeria, to all the Algerian people. It is less a matter of responding to a right of part of the people than of recovering something that is the patrimony of everyone (which may also occur in Aures, Dahra, Tamanrasset, even Oranie), even if it is but one difference. Moreover, what is true of the Berber difference is doubly true -- linguistic and religious differences -- of M'Zab.

In a world which the mass media and technological marvels tend to make desperately uniform, culturally speaking, the right to be different is threatened. One struggles frantically, passionately, to remain oneself, to "enjoy one's own flavor that is like none other." This is a totally respectable feeling, but on the condition, I absolutely emphasize, that the feeling not contain suspicious and condemnable concerns. The Algerians would not allow this cultural claim to be used, either directly or indirectly, against Islam. The people of Kabylia would condemn this themselves. Personally, I am not at all worried about this. Islam is quite sound in Kabylia, as it is elsewhere in Algeria. Nor would the Algerians allow this claim to stifle the Arabic language. That language is "at home" in Algeria and tends to become so in other Muslim countries.

It is natural for a Muslim people to give privileged status to the Arabic language, which is indispensable to the very practice of its faith, language and faith being inextricably linked here. In Guinea, Mali or Iran, since the revolution, the study of the Arabic language has become obligatory. What can one then say about Algeria, which practically made the choice since Islam appeared in the country?

[Question] There remains the debate about the language itself: spoken Arabic or the so-called classical Arabic?

[Answer] This is an old debate, well-known in the Arab world, and the question is settled unequivocally because throughout the Arab world, the people are convinced that the promotion of spoken Arabic would mean death to classical Arabic in the long run. Did the promotion of French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese not constitute a death warrant for Latin? With respect to Arabic, such a step would be sacrilegious because Arabic is the language of the Koran and therefore, the language of God.

The Algerian identity is therefore perfectly reconciled with the Arab identity, inasmuch as this identity is not at all based on a concept of race, but rather, on a concept linked to a culture whose central core is Islam. It is therefore impossible to distinguish between Arab culture and Islamic culture. On the other hand, Arabism contains a political concept. In answer to the question of whether Algeria can blend into a great Arab nation, I would respond affirmatively.

But more than Arabism, it is Islam which offers the more satisfactory framework, not only because it is broader and therefore more effective, but also and above all because the cultural concept, the fact of civilization, must govern all the rest.

It alone can clarify our relations with the world around us and first of all, with the world that dominates us: the international order, whose domination is first and foremost cultural in nature. Infinitely more than nationalism, which was a powerful driving force for our national liberation, or Arabism, which was one of the privileged moments in the anti-imperialist struggle, it is Islam which offers the best chances of true liberation.

#### Triumph of Arabism

[Question] In other words, you who were the very embodiment of nationalism no longer believe that it plays a prime role?

[Answer] I do not follow a nationalism as you say. I was a nationalist when it was a matter of freeing my country. That feeling was respectable at that time because it contributed to the liberation of a nation that had been dominated up to that time. I ceased being a nationalist as soon as my country became independent. That feeling, once respectable, ceased being so on 3 July 1962, for it would have meant a rigid, chauvinistic vision of our future. Since that time, I have fought for the triumph of Arabism, a feeling that was also respectable at that time, in the face of the many challenges confronting the Arab nations, all of which had gained their independence, with one exception: the Palestinian people. But these struggles must lead to the advent of a new world order banishing exploitation, to the possibility of a universal civilization.

Nationalism is an invention of the West, of the French Revolution in conflict with the European monarchies. It is a relatively recent invention. The notion, as it now exists in the world -- including in the Arab and Muslim world -- is foreign to our values, to our believers, who are hostile to any breaking up or division of their territory or any other division. Naturally, the world of Islam was very rapidly broken up because of political vicissitudes. But the quest of the Islam of all Muslims, which is often defeated but also often fulfilled in vast areas, is to find themselves totally, fully at home, with the same rights and duties, wherever they might be in Islamic territory. In this sense, the date of 1 November has its natural extension, in the very words of its leaders, in the Islamic revolution in Iran, even if an Islamic revolution in Algeria would not necessarily follow the same pattern.

Naturally, we are still far from it and the division, the breaking up, continues to hinder our condition and obstruct our destiny, and even at the Arab level -- in a much narrower framework -- attempts have failed. Nevertheless, it is enough that the aspiration to a common destiny continues to be strongly felt by our peoples. We shall keep at it as long as necessary.



[Question] One last question: For many French people, at the time of the national liberation struggle, you appeared to be the key man of the revolution. You therefore polarized a great deal of hatred. Do you believe that time has now been able to heal the wounds? As far as you are concerned, have you turned the page?

[Answer] A few months ago, when I was still under house arrest, I went to Bou-Saada, I was recognized at the hotel door by a group of French tourists. They all greeted me and told me that they now looked at me differently, that they now esteemed me. They no longer viewed me as the man who had stolen part of their country from them, but as a militant who fought for the liberation of his country. I felt that my image had changed and I was happy about it.

As far as I am concerned, I have completely turned the page, as far back as independence, which does not mean that I have forgotten.

Not all the wounds have healed. There is the problem of the *harkis* [Muslim auxiliary police or soldier employed by the French], for example. I believe that the time has come to open up that dossier, to study it calmly, to place it in an Islamic context. The *harkis* are Muslims. They are our brothers, brothers who have gone astray. Does one of our *hadiths* [commentaries on the Koran] not say that the purification of victory is forgiveness? But forgiveness come not come piecemeal. The *harkis* must be able to return to their country if they wish. They must be able to live there. Accepting the children and denying the return of the parents is not acceptable. Let us not forget our responsibilities. Let us avoid hypocrisy. There are many Algerians in France that we ourselves turned into *harkis*, by our errors, our inadequacies, our failings. There are also many *harkis* living in peace here in Algeria and sometimes occupying important posts.

I would also like to speak about the Algerian Jews who are in France and who say that they are Algerians. Neither the Cremieux decree nor Israel has been able to change that fact. Those who want to return must be able to regain all their rights. Our people are ready to take them in. It suffices to see how they are welcomed when they come here on pilgrimages, particularly to Tlemcen.

With them, as elsewhere with many *pieds-noirs*, we share a common cultural heritage. The *pieds-noirs* have also been the victims of colonialism in a way. When they left, they took with them part of this country's flesh and blood. They must not feel like foreigners when they return to visit us. We must continue to respect their cemeteries, above all. When I speak about the *pieds-noirs*, I am thinking of those who respect our country and our independence, not those who are nostalgic for French Algeria.

Truly, it is time to bind up our wounds. Above all, all those who participated in the liberation struggle and who have been living in exile, sometimes for years, must be able to return to their country and express themselves, all, without exception. They will all be useful in the drafting of a new political thought and their return could be a prelude to true democratic life, to a situation in which fundamental human rights will be fully respected.

## FRENCH-ALGERIAN GAS TALKS DEADLOCKED

Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Dec 80 p 40

[Article by Daniel Junqua]

[Text] Algiers--On Sunday, 30 November, and Monday, 1 December, a delegation from the French Gas Company (GDF) was in Algiers for another session of the negotiations begun with SONATRACH on 11 March concerning an increase in the price of gas. The delegation was accompanied by Mr Capron, director of hydrocarbons in the Ministry of Industry, who met with Algerian Minister of Energy Nabi. The new round of negotiations, the second since the 30 October visit of Mr Giraud, led to no agreement.

France has accepted the principle of the indexation of liquefied natural gas (LNG) on the price of crudes which it imports, but this has raised an essential obstacle because the Algerians are intransigent on this point. However, disagreement remains on the establishment of the base price in the new contract and the setting of the indexing formula.

Concerning the first point, the gap between the two positions is reportedly small. The gas purchased by GDF is paid for in advance and costs \$3.20 per million British thermal units (BTU: 1 million BTU equal 293 kilowatt-hours). According to the old contract, this price should be raised to around \$3.60 by 1 January, which the Algerians deem to be insufficient. They hold that the price should be in the range of \$4.00 to \$4.50.

With respect to the indexing formula, the Algerians want it to result in a strictly parallel evolution -- in absolute value rather than in percentage -- of the price of the reference crude and the LNG so as to prevent another gap between prices that would cause another crisis in a few years. In the long run, the Algerians want to arrive at equal prices. GDF refuses to go along with this reasoning. The discussions have little chance of success before the end of the year because of the Algerian schedule. On 15 December, they must participate in the OPEC meeting in Bali and are preparing their energy dossier, to be submitted to the Central Committee at the end of the month.

Negotiations begun by the American Government concerning gas sales to the El Paso Company are scarcely more successful. An informal meeting was recently held by the two sides but it would appear that only a provisional agreement was reached making it possible to resume operations of the LNG plant that has been shut down for over 8 months.

The United States has managed to have the price of Canadian gas at the American border frozen at \$4.47 and seems less inclined than ever to make any concessions.

NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER DISCUSSED

Algiers REVOLUTION ET TRAVAIL in French 15 Nov 80 p 15

[Article: "UNESCO: Information--The Stakes of the New International Order"]

[Text] The 21st UNESCO conference, held recently in Belgrade, discussed the information question. Nothing concrete is yet underway, but the idea of a "new information order" is already showing in itself that information arouses obvious antagonisms, for it is one of the stakes of the "new world order."

Once again, the important question of information in the world was raised at UNESCO. Once again, the debates did not result in far advancing the demands of the Third World countries for a "new world information order." This at least is the general picture of the conclusions reached at the 21st UNESCO Conference held 23-24 October in Belgrade. The delegates adjourned after having ratified, by consensus vote, a resolution defining this new order ambiguously and calling on the developed countries to launch assistance programs enabling them to overcome even in small degree their backwardness in the field of information. The complexity is such that no one was expecting the adoption at Belgrade of a text that could revolutionize the present situation dominated by the profound imbalances and divergent conceptions on the very definition of information and of the notions that are linked to it.

The resolution adopted at this 21st session notes the present inequalities. This, in itself, is cause for some satisfaction. Then it tried to reconcile the very divergent conceptions.

The initiative, even if its ultimate outcome is uncertain, is laudable, for without an effort at understanding and reconciliation, no breakthrough beyond the present order would be possible.

There we have at the same time both the merits and also the limitations of joint international action. The issue and consequently the establishment of a "new information order" can only be brought about by the separate and joint efforts of the countries of the Third World, actions which must necessarily begin by taking cognizance of the present situation and its possible implications.

Domination: A Basic Question

For the developing countries, becoming aware of the necessity of an international debate on this subject, bringing the industrialized countries to respond to the

demand for a new order, is an important step for the future. The report of the MacBride Commission put in relief certain aspects needing urgent reform; all the parties seem implicitly or explicitly to recognize certain urgencies, but are the remedies any more clear for all that?

The least one can say on reading the report and the text of the resolution is that the developing countries have a strong interest in avoiding any hasty solution.

So the resolution, it seems, has sacrificed the immediate concerns of the great powers for debating the basic question which is the domination of the Third World and its increasingly apparent inability to ward off the perils created for it by the accelerated development of information media. In this sense, one might have expected the conference to orient the debate toward at least the more salient aspects deriving from the concentration of the media in the hands of the monopolies, the role which has fallen to them in the pillaging the peoples and keeping them under the crook of the multinationals.

Quite to the contrary, and to the detriment of the immediate concerns of the developing countries, the discussions seem to have revolved around doctrinal disputes. Of course, there was mention of the disinformation practiced on the Third World, the emergence of satellites and the necessity of an international resolution, the reduced capacities of the impoverished countries to establish a system of communication and adequate information. But the inventory of the weaknesses of the developing countries in no way signifies the assessment and terms of measures to be taken to remedy the imbalances and inequalities of the present situation.

One could not overemphasize the external dangers arising from the intensive development of the media in the big-capital countries. This development has become a serious threat to the determination to preserve their sovereignty which exists in the majority of developing countries. This has two aspects:

On the one hand because the manipulation of public opinion from the outside, with all that implies in ideological penetration, becomes a simple matter, but on the other hand because information and communication have grown in the course of a decade into veritable instruments of control in the most subversive sense of the term. From preparing the public for an "event" to putting any kind of operation into practice, the distance is not great. And presently there is no lack of examples to illustrate a process which goes to show that in these times the obvious antagonism of interests, the aspect assumed by the negotiations on the other problems, insures that a "new information order" is also expressed in terms of antagonisms.

#### "The Solutions Are Not All Indicated"

By relegating to the back burner these various aspects of the domination to which the countries of the Third World are subjected in the field of information and communication, by presenting the question in softened terms, in terms of delays in filling the gap in written and audio-visual information, the solutions all seem indicated.

These latter could be summed up by a growth in human potential and in information materials in the developing countries, along with the "sincere" outside assistance



of the developed countries. If it be true beyond a doubt that "to increase and strengthen, first of all, its national capacities in the extension and control over information is evidently a pre-condition for the countries of the Third World, it is no less true for the "aid" of the developed countries. The Third World countries are not by themselves able to perfect their information potential. This implies that they have a great need for outside assistance.

But to beware that this assistance does not transform itself into dependence, into submission, under the pretext of an effort to achieve more rapid mastery of the technology, is imperative. It is perfectly clear that technological innovations are creating an ever-increasing market. The developing countries can be potential customers in the race for infrastructure, and this could have dangerous ramifications over the long term. This is precisely the pay-off of "aid" for the developed countries, and it is in this sense that solutions are not all indicated, for they do not all bear the stamp of "sincerity" and innocence.

The new information order is not coming tomorrow. Quite simply because information is power in its own right. To appropriate it for oneself is a guarantee for freedom. The developed countries have understood the stakes it represents so well that they are not ready to share it.

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GENERAL STATUTE ON WORKERS DISCUSSED

Algiers REVOLUTION ET TRAVAIL in French 15 Nov 80 pp 13-14

[Proposed laws and decrees adopted by the Interministerial Commission in implementation of the General Statute on Workers]

[Text] 'From the deliberations of the organs responsible for elaboration and adoption of provisions for implementation of the General Statute on Workers [SGT]. On this day 17 provisions were adopted by the Interministerial Commission, namely:

- 1) Proposed decree regarding special allowance for experience.
- 2) Proposed decree regarding modalities of calculating damage awards.
- 4) [sic] Proposed decree regarding cumulative rates for combinations of allowances by comparison with base wage-rate.
- 5) Proposed decree regarding post allowances.
- 6) Proposed decree regarding contractual indemnity for permanent service.
- 7) Proposed law regarding missions and the exercise of the right to engage in syndical activity.
- 8) Proposed law regarding the prevention and settlement of collective work disputes.
- 9) Proposed law regarding prevention of occupational hazards.
- 10) Proposed law regarding legal duration of the work-year.
- 11) Proposed law regarding working conditions for foreign nationals.
- 12) Proposed law on annual leave.
- 13) Proposed decree regarding the organization of occupational health.
- 14) Proposed decree establishing minimum wages at the national level.



- 15) Proposed decree regarding legal rest-periods.
- 16) Proposed decree regarding general measures of hygiene and safety.
- 17) Proposed decree establishing increased allowance for overtime work.

The provisions cited above constitute a part of the joint foundation laid down in the work agenda of the interministerial commission.

In effect, the implementing provisions of the SGT are broken into two different types.

Those which embody the labor legislation through establishing the principle of equality of rights and duties for all workers and in accordance with the fundamental objective laid down in the National Charter in the field of social protection of workers. This then is a question of improving legislation relative to the social rights of the workers in such a way as to make homogenous the labor statutes throughout all sectors of the national life.

--Those that embody the differences, particularities, or unique aspects of diverse juridical sectors or sectors of activity.

Regarding wages: priority should be given to the basic provisions permitting the launching of the national wage policy and the creation of technical bodies responsible for developing the mechanisms for its operation.

These provisions are preparing the fundamental conditions for the harmonization of wages and the unification of systems of remuneration as provided for in the General Statute on Workers.

They permit communication to the workers of practical decisions of national importance, such as the start-up of the labor classification to which they will be asked to contribute.

In accordance with this distinction, the proposed provisions of greatest priority should be those that embody the general labor legislation and the fundamental provisions permitting the launching of the national wage policy. These provisions should serve as supports for the different types of legislation, which can no longer suffer from ambiguity and must put aside any view tending to promote the fragmentation of legislation and wage disparities.

However, we must not underestimate the problems entailed by the elaboration of provisions, problems owing to the importance of the provisions which determine the future of the workers and of the economy in general, and which accordingly cannot be subjected to any sectarian vision incompatible with the spirit of the SGT, and which must be surrounded by all necessary precautions in order to avoid any risk of social conflicts or malaise. Because of these various considerations, only 17 proposed measures are today adopted by the interministerial commission.

The Contents:

#### Proposal Regarding Missions and the Exercise of Right to Engaged in Syndical Activity

The National Charter has called for major growth and development for the workers, whose weight and role are continually growing in the economy and society. "Their

responsibilities thus go beyond the sphere of their interests as workers: on them, in effect, depends the acceleration or the slowing down of the economic effort of the country, and thereby the very building of socialism" (National Charter).

From this unfold the missions of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), whose responsibilities at the moment for GSE [Socialist Management of Businesses], the Agrarian Revolution and the fulfillment of the national plans, are growing in all domains.

In respect of the guidelines in the National Charter, and on the basis of Article 60 of the constitution, the present proposed law, in implementation of the SGT, aims to establishing an overall and coherent juridical framework with respect to the missions of the syndicate and the modalities of implementation of syndical rights.

It envisages the elimination of a situation which in its totality is strongly characterized by insufficiently forceful legislation and by the problems stemming from the hindrances to the exercising of syndical rights, in absence of legislative embodiment of the revolutionary conception of the role and missions of the syndicate defined by the National Charter.

The proposed law is constructed around the following points:

--The proposed law posits the unity of the organized labor movement, which is an imperative tied to the unity of the working world.

In this connection UGTA provides for the organization of the workers and constitutes their mass democratic organization. The constitution, or the dissolution, and the operation of the syndical structures are determined by the statutes and regulations of the UGTA.

--Joining a labor organization is a voluntary act, and open to all workers from all sectors, including the civil service.

--The operations of the syndicate are based on the principle of democracy.

The missions of the labor organization flow from the inseparability of the interests of the worker and of the country.

In this connection, UGTA assumes responsibility for:

--Defense of the material and moral interests of the workers in accordance with the guidelines of the National Charter and with the fundamental provisions (i.e. the constitution and the SGT).

--Labor structures participate in the elaboration and implementation of the economic and social policy through their participation in the development plans, including special programs and their management.

--They are directly or indirectly responsible for direction and management of social works.

--They get all the workers to participate in the management of the social security entities.

--They participate in the elaboration and application of legislative provisions, wage policy, job classification and special statutes.

--See to the success of the GSE.

To provide for the successful fulfillment of the missions above cited, the proposed law authorizes facilities and provides for the protection of union officials.

--The employing entity can neither discharge, transfer nor impose a disciplinary sanction against a union member or official by reason of his syndicate activities.

--The representatives of the syndicate have rights of access into all worksites of the employing entity as well as access to all information or documents relative to the general conduct of the employing entity.

--The right to space and materials for their activities.

--The right to conduct education.

--The union local, considered as an essential link in the syndical organization, is by terms of the proposed law extended the right to an office.

#### Proposed Law Regarding Prevention and Settlement of Collective Work Disputes

The present proposed law aims at the elimination of a situation marred by incoherence, fragmentation and insufficiencies in the institutional and juridical frameworks serving as a basis for the organized intervention of the state in the improvement of collective labor relations.

Prepared in application of articles 90 and 216 of the SGT, the proposed law aims at:

--The institution of obligatory procedures of conciliation and arbitration in order to prevent and resolve any dispute arising in collective labor relations, giving all the institutions a role (Peoples Communal Assembly, Governorate Popular Assembly, Council of Mouhafada).

--The organs charged with prevention and settlement of the disputes must see that the rights of workers are strictly respected.

--It authorizes the decentralization of the definitive settlement of disputes in collective labor relations.

--It extends the arbitration procedure to all sectors of activity, when for exceptional reasons, the conciliation efforts are shown to be fruitless at the decentralized level.

--The syndicate authorities are fully entitled to participate in the prevention and resolution of labor disputes.

--Within every employing entity is instituted a register of grievances to record the claims of the workers. The employing entity must reply within a week.

--The employing entity and the representatives of the workers must hold a monthly meeting to prevent and resolve conflicts.

#### Proposed Bill Regarding Prevention of Occupational Hazards

The proposed law aims at defining the general framework, establishing instruments and specifying the means intended to prevent occupational hazards. On the work-site each employing entity is held legally responsible to ensure compliance.

--It formulates and extends to all workers effective measures of prevention, both at the level of industrial planning and machines, and also with respect to the utilization of toxic and dangerous substances.

--It emphasizes information and the education of the workers in matters of prevention of occupational hazards.

--It authorizes the intervention of hygiene and safety commissions (CHS) in the organization, prevention and struggle against occupational hazards by granting them extensive prerogatives and by creating permanent structures which are the safety services and the occupational medicine centers.

--It institutes a national consultative council as the framework for concertation, coordination and new proposals in the field of prevention of occupational hazards.

--It authorizes, finally, an important place for the function of monitoring, tied to implementation of legislation and of regulations in matters of hygiene, safety and occupational health.

#### Proposed Law Regarding Legal Duration of the Work-Year

Tied to the imperatives of development and to the economic, cultural and social objectives pursued by the nation, the length of the work-year, under the proposed law, is determined by the pace of evaluation of production, improvement of labor productivity, scientific and technical progress and conditions promoting the protection and best use of the work force.

--For the current stage, the proposed law establishes the legal length of the work-year, outside agriculture, at 2,300 hours per year over 300 working days.

--The length is reduced for workers at painful, unhealthful or dangerous labor, who benefit from a reduction of up to a maximum of 6 hours per week.

--It establishes different modes of daily and weekly distribution, with an option in favor of the 5-day work-week accompanied by continuous [shift?] work.

--It aims finally at strictly regulating recourse to the utilization of overtime, authorization for which will only be accorded with the consent of the representatives of the workers. The overtime hours cannot surpass 22 hours per week.



Measures have been taken by the interministerial commission for the institution of the 5-day week and the regime of continuous, unceasing [shift?] work.

Such a choice constitutes a response to the concerns expressed by the workers and responsible managers in the socialist enterprises.

These measures are applicable to the employing entities belonging to the sectors of:

--Heavy industry

--Energy and petrochemical industries

--Light industry

--Public works, housing, construction and water works are covered, the headquarters of enterprises, as well as the enterprises operating on the basis of continuous production.

#### Proposed Decree Regarding Working Conditions for Foreign Nations

This proposed law aims at regulating the situation which obtains with respect to resort to foreign nationals, a recourse that is often abusive and ill-considered, particularly by foreign companies operating in Algeria. This situation is apparent from the fact that 41 percent of the foreign nationals introduced into Algeria in 1979 occupy positions at a level lower than that of technician, or exercise functions of an administrative nature, while these are positions for which Algerian workers, resident workers, or emigrants have the necessary qualifications. Thus the proposed law provides:

--No foreign national can be gainfully employed in Algeria unless he holds a work permit or a temporary work authorization. This does not apply to nationals of a state with which Algeria has concluded a manpower treaty or agreement.

--The recruitment of foreign nationals is prohibited in cases where the foreign national's qualifications are not equal at least to the level of technician.

--The work permit or temporary work authorization is only given to foreign nationals [begin boldface] if the position can in no way be filled by an Algerian worker or from the ranks of the emigrant Algerian workforce. [end boldface]

If he possesses the qualifications and the educational credentials and the experience necessary for the job to be filled, and if his application has been approved by the elected representatives of the workers.

--There is instituted a temporary work authorization designed to cover foreign nationals pursuing a short-term wage-earning activity, renewable only once.

#### Proposed Law Regarding Legal Rest-Periods

Sanctioned by the constitution, the right to rest is an essential element in the social protection of the work force.

In accordance with the provisions of article 84 of the SCT, this proposed law is designed to establish the juridical framework for regulating the system of annual leave. It is ordered around the following categories:

- 1) Field of application. The system of annual leave instituted by this proposed law is applicable to all sectors of activity.
- 2) The duration of annual leave: is established at 30 calendar days for each worker at a minimum, but is increased for workers engaged in activities that are excessively harsh or dangerous...
- 3) Carry-forward and fractioning [of leave-time]: are strictly regulated.
- 4) Compensation for annual leave: is equal to one-twelfth of the total remuneration received by the worker in the course of the reference year. Full remuneration being considered as the wage of the position as defined by article 146 of the SCT.

#### Proposed Decree Regarding Contractual Indemnity for Permanent Service

This compensation is destined to remunerate occasional work required beyond the normal work-schedule resulting from service needs and not susceptible to being taken into account in the quotation of the position.

--The maximum duration of required overtime work is 22 hours of permanent service [sic] per month.

--The contractual indemnity is exclusive of any other remuneration for work done on an overtime basis.

--The monthly rate of indemnity is fixed at 20 percent maximum of the base wage rate of the work y ouvrant droit [translation unknown].

--The list of work positions y ouvrant droit [translation unknown] is established by the elected representatives of the workers and the employing entities.

#### Proposed Decree Regarding the Calculation of Post Allowances

This indemnity is instituted monthly; it is intended to compensate contractually for continuous hardships of service, notably:

--The recovery of hours [spent] for passing of orders [sic].

--Night work.

--Work on the day of rest.

--Work on paid holidays.

The rate of compensation for post allowances is determined by the type of organization of the quarter in which the worker is posted.



### Proposed Decree Regarding Zone Indemnity

The SGT introduces new elements as to the operation of this indemnity. Beyond the traditional constraints remunerated--such as geographic ones--indemnity will also be granted to workers who are in sectors determined to be of high priority in the development plans as well as to [holders of] priority qualifications and to priority units. The rate is fixed at 50 percent of the maximum base wage (base wage as determined by the SGT).

### Proposed Decree on Damage Indemnity

With the new SGT wages policy, damages are considered partly in the evolution (sic) of the position and thus of the base wage.

Damages not taken into account in the base wage are remunerated in the form of an indemnity.

The total of the damage indemnity is determined in this way:

$$IN = \frac{SNMG \text{ rate} \times C \times NHT}{100}$$

IN = Damage indemnity

SNMG rate = National Minimum Guaranteed Wage Rate

C = Sum of coefficients not greater than 1

NHT = Number of hours of work in injurious conditions

--With an SNMG rate = 4.28 DA (Algerian dinars?) the maximum rate of indemnity is not greater than 160 DA.

--This indemnity is diminished parallel to the reduction of damage, which leads to the obligation on employing entities to ceaselessly improve [working conditions], this being the axis of permanent struggle of the UGTA.

### Proposed Decree Regarding Cumulative Rates for Combinations of Allowances by Comparison with Base Wage-Rate

--The cumulative rate of indemnities for damage, zone, overtime hours, contractual hours of permanent service, and posted work can in no event go beyond 80 percent of the total of the base wage.

Such are the proposed laws adopted by the interministerial commission and in which the UGTA participated through its participants.

Today it is clear that the readiness is there, and one is awaiting only the definitive adoption of these provisions for them to be put into operation.

Taken by themselves, the provisions covering indemnities that will have financial impact will require some study to implement, and precautions must be taken. One

wonders why the proposed laws, such as the syndical law, regulation of disputes... which do not have economic and financial repercussions, and whose adoption could only resolve certain situations of conflict, are up to now deferred for definitive adoption.

Only three of these proposed provisions are communicated to the government for final adoption, namely:

--Proposed law on legal length of the work-year.

--Proposed law on jobs for foreign nationals.

--Proposed law on legal rest-periods.

Could there exist impediments which are preventing the other proposed provisions from following the same path? ...and in this case no effort should be spared to overcome these problems, for these proposed measures are appropriate today, given the present state of legislation to regulate certain problems which are keenly felt by the workers, as living conditions, as attacks against the exercise of syndical rights...

9516

CSO: 4400

## BRIEFS

**DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH YUGOSLAVIA--**Algiers--Central Committee member and finance minister M'hamed Yala and SPRY federal executive council member Dragasevic signed a draft agreement at Houari Boumediene Airport on Thursday morning following the 10th session of the Algerian-Yugoslav joint committee. The document adopted at the end of the joint committee meeting reviews Algerian-Yugoslav cooperation which has undergone a remarkable upsurge this year. In addition the measures adopted during this session will encourage the consolidation and development of cooperation between the two countries in numerous spheres, notably industry, construction, hydraulics and energy. Mr Dragasevic left Algiers after the signing ceremony and was seen off by M'hamed Yala. [Text] [LD301509 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26-27 Dec 80 p 3]

**ARMY OFFICERS SENTENCED--**The Algerian military court in the town of Blida sentenced two officer cadets of the military academy in Sharshal, 'Abd al-Malik (Khandur) and Rabbah Ibn Khayyat, to 6 and 5 years imprisonment respectively after they had been charged with conspiring against the security of the state. The same court also passed a sentence in absentia on Muhammad Ibn Sadah, currently living in France, to a term of 10 years imprisonment and the accused 'Ali ('Akkal) was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and Muhammad Nu'man to 3 years for forming a cell of the International Communist Party. These persons were arrested in November 1978 by the Algerian police who also seized issues of the newspaper PROLATAIRE and the "Communist Manifesto" and a number of antistate publications. Although some observers in Algeria were amazed at the severity of these sentences they offer as an excuse the authorities' extreme sensitivity to everything that affects the army. [Text] [LD312134 Rabat MAP in Arabic 1530 GMT 31 Dec 80]

**PRESIDENT CHAIRS COMMANDERS' MEETING--**President Chadli Benjedid, head of the republic, party secretary general and defense minister, yesterday chaired a meeting of district military commanders at the ministry. The meeting was attended by Col Abdallah Belhoshat, Politburo member and deputy defense minister in charge of general inspection, Col Qasidi Mirbah, central committee member and deputy defense minister in charge of military industries, Lt Col Mustafa Salwasif, central committee member and general secretary of the national defense ministry, and the central directors at the ministry. [Text] [LD311421 Algiers AL-SHAB'B in Arabic 29 Dec 80 p 1]

**ATTACK ON MOROCCO REPORTED--**The SDAR Information Ministry has issued a statement about new military operations carried out by the Saharan Popular Liberation Army on 29 and 30 December against the garrisons of the aggressor Moroccan forces at Rous Lakhlayet, (7Khneifis, Rous el-Tebbi) and Rous Laouaj. The statement said that the Saharan fighters, 2 days after inflicting a complete defeat on the Royalist Forces at Rous Lakhlayet, launched on 29 December 1980 a fierce 4-hour attack against the enemy position at Rous Lakhlayet in the area of Ras el-Khannfra, in the vicinity of the SDAR-Moroccan border, inflicting upon the Royalist Forces heavy losses in personnel and equipment, including one missile launcher. [Text] [LD020121 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 0001 GMT 2 Jan 80]

## ECONOMY FEELS EFFECTS OF GULF WAR

### Call For More Rice Production

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Dec 80 p 8

[Interview with Gilan Governor-General Eng 'Ansari]

[Text] In an interview with KEYHAN reporter, Gilan Governor-General engineer Ansari spelled out his views regarding various problems in the province, especially those connected with the Iraqi-imposed war. Concerning the securing of basic public needs, the governor-general said: "As far as food supplies are concerned, we are not facing any immediate problems in the area. According to plans devised by the government, certain essential items will soon be rationed for which coupons will be distributed." The governor-general further added: "We will fight high prices and hoarding. We will uncover hoarding places and shall prevent profiteering by those bazaris who only think of their pockets." The governor-general warned bazaris to try to adjust themselves to the condition that now exist in the country. He said it was wise for these people to watch their actions before authorities are forced to react.

About the fuel supplies in the province, he said: "Assisted by the Forestry Department, some 10 million tumans will be invested to set up 10 charcoal plants throughout the province. Thus, we will be able not only to take care of the local fuel needs, but also to export some to the war-stricken areas of the country." Regarding agriculture, the governor-general said: "Under the conditions forced on us by the Iraqi-imposed war, the nation's industry and agriculture have suffered. And in view of the fact that our economy is solely based on oil, our workers and farmers should do everything to raise production. The planting of a handful of rice is like throwing 100 darts at our enemy's heart. By increasing our production we help further develop the country and relieve the present shortages that have been created by the conflict. People should also help by making sacrifices and by avoiding luxuries and extravagances."

In conclusion, while criticizing those who ignore the conditions created by war, the governor-general asked people of Gilan Province that if they cared to help refugees from the war zones by accepting them in their homes, or by giving them shelter, they should get in touch with the Red Crescent Society.



## Ship Traffic

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Dec 80 p 3

[Text] Bandar Abbas - KEYHAN Correspondant: "The navy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is responsible for the security and control of the Persian Gulf and will let all ships sail in the Gulf after being inspected, except those with Iraq as their destination." In announcing this, Engineer Hosseyn 'Ali 'Azimi, governor-general Hormozegan Province, told reporters: "The firepower of our navy is strong enough not to permit any ship or naval unit to be of any danger to our islands and southern coastal regions."

Regarding security and the protection of Kish Island under the present conditions, 'Azimi said: "Kish Island is under the protection of our fighting forces, the navy and the air force, and I am happy to announce that our naval guns are powerful enough to prevent any threat to our islands and the Hormoz Strait. Our navy is constantly watching the Gulf traffic, inspecting their cargo, allowing all ships to sail with the exception of those with Iraq as their destination."

In connection with the protection and defense of our coastal line, which has special strategic importance, the governor said: "As far as the defense of the coastal region is concerned, our entire defensive forces in the area are well coordinated and on the alert. All naval, air, security, police, gendarmerie and the Revolutionary Corps are coordinated and their representatives review the existing problems in their weekly meetings and are able to overcome any problem in the shortest period of time."

Touching upon various problems in the country, the position of the Hormozegan province, political, social and issues concerning the wary, the governor-general declared: "Our biggest problem is illiteracy which has prevented the development of industry in the province. The revival and expansion of our industries require educated and technical experts." He further added that projects now being implemented will allow people, who are engaged in the smuggling of illegal goods, to import essential items and thus help remove shortages.

Referring to the foodstuff shortage and the state of agriculture in the province, the governor-general said: "The annual production of barley and wheat of the province is enough to last for only 20 days and that is why the area is always faced with a food shortage."

He also added that indifference and lack of attention by officials concerned had caused the huge ship-building plant on the Persian Gulf to operate at a very slow pace. He said he hoped to correct the situation there with the help of knowledgeable experts.

'Azimi went on to say that since the start of the conflict with Iraq some 30,000 refugees from the war zones had been given shelter in the province at the expense of 300,000 tumans a day that is paid by the government to feed them. He also said that with the help of devoted people, work at Bandar 'Abbas harbor has been speeded up so that, on the average, one truck is loaded every minute.

In conclusion, the governor-general said that Hormozgan Province had accepted all the refugees it could handle and take care of. He therefore asked that the war refugees should now seek shelter in cities in other parts of the country.

#### Oil Market

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Dec 80 p 8

[Text] The aggression by the Ba'hist regime of Iraq, and the expanding dimensions of the conflict, coupled with Iran's determination to continue the war until after every inch of her territory is recovered, have upset all economic calculations about the Middle East, resulting in contradicting views being expressed by various powerful elements in the West. This is because of the importance of the Persian Gulf for the West, not only from political and strategic point of views, but for economic importance of the area as well. The industrial life of the West depends on the huge reserve of oil and gas that lies under this region. With its daily production of 16,000 million barrels of oil, the region provides 50 percent of the oil that is handled in the world market, which is being carried in huge tankers through the Strait of Hormoz. For that reason control of the Hormoz Strait is considered the control of the life blood of the Western world.

With the start of Iran-Iraq war, there was a daily drop of 4 million barrels of oil exported from Iran and Iraq. This was followed by a \$4.00 a barrel price increase throughout the world. Prediction is that if the war continues, considering that fuel supply in the West would rapidly deplete by the end of 1359 (21 Mar 80 - 20 Mar 81), prices will go up bringing huge profits to the oil companies. At the same time, production cost for Western industries would go up sharply, leading to more inflation and economic instability in the West. This conflict of interest between the oil companies and big industrialists carries great meaning for us, as it would lead to taking positions with regards to the Iran-Iraq war. We could, with alertness, take advantage of this political and economic conflict of interest in Western world, especially the U.S. and turn it around to our own benefit.

But if the war between Iran and Iraq reaches a point to cause the closure of the Strait of Hormoz and the discontinuation in the flow of oil, oil companies and owners of the big industries in the West will adopt a joint position which would be an effort to open the route for the rapid resumption of oil export from the Persian Gulf region. As part of their joint efforts they might interfere militarily through their satellite nations in the region.

The importance of the Persian Gulf region for Western industrial nations and Japan is better understood when we realize that 60 percent of the oil needed by Europe and 70 percent of the oil need of Japan and 11 percent of the oil needed by the U.S. comes from the Persian Gulf region, which is transported by big oil companies. The discontinuation of this flow of oil would result in the shutdown of 60 percent of industries in Europe and Japan and the closing down of most oil companies.

We must bear in mind that because most of the oil needs of Japan come from the region, and especially from Iraq, that country is more vulnerable to the disruption in oil export than other industrial countries, and for that reason

Japan is doing more than others to bring the war to an end. At the same time, increase in the price of oil would also increase the production cost in Japan which had so far been selling its products at a lower price, as compared to other industrial nations. This would, of course, make the Japanese-made goods less competitive with goods from other countries, especially the United States, which in turn adversely affect Japanese exports via a vis Europe and the United States. This is more true as far as the American-made goods are concerned because of the high prices in the United States and the high cost of transportation of American-made goods to other parts of the world, which had always made American products far more expensive than Japanese-manufactured goods. But, compared with Japan, the United States is less vulnerable because it is capable of receiving its oil needs from other countries with a greater ease and even from its own domestic rich fields and thus be able to sell its products at a lower price.

On the other hand, even though the United States gets only 11 percent of its oil needs from the Persian Gulf region, it must be remembered that the United States has a huge investment in both Europe and Japan and its volume of profit from the industries and oil companies is far more than those of Japanese and Europeans. For that reason, the possible closure of the Strait of Hormoz and the discontinuation of the flow of oil from the Gulf area could give a pretext for the military intervention by the West, led by the United States. But the wise policy of Iran in keeping the Strait open has prevented this and has removed the excuse for any military action by the West and has preserved the country's sovereignty over the Strait. At the start of the conflict that was imposed on Iran, to protect their economic interests, the United States and its allies organized a naval task force and dispatched it to the Persian Gulf waters. At that time, the United States even was thinking of an allout military intervention, if it was not for certain considerations. But certain American officials in the region were of the opinion that any such action would engulf the entire Gulf area and its oil fields in conflagration because they were well aware of the fact that Iran would never have allowed any outside power, especially the United States, to control the Strait of Hormoz. At this point we come to realize the true meaning of the slogan "Iran will become the graveyard of imperialism" and that now it has been turned into reality. If the Viet Nam war against the United States had military-political dimensions, the Islamic Revolution of Iran, as a result of its strategic situation, is able to turn any possible military action in the area into an economic conflict that could bring about an international economic crisis and, in fact, make Iran the graveyard of imperialism. The reason is that the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormoz are the jugular vein of the United States and the Western world. The sovereignty over the Strait of Hormoz is in the hand of the Islamic Republic of Iran and whenever the revolution and territorial integrity of the country is threatened by its enemies Iran has the power to use it [the Strait of Hormoz] and squeeze tight the economic throat of the West.

9561

CSO: 4906

IRAN

**EFFORTS TO COPE WITH 'ECONOMIC BOYCOTT'**

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 14 Dec 80 p 4

[Text] Ahvas--Despite the war imposed upon Iran by the hireling Iraqi regime, and the war's intensity in several Khuzestan cities, the farmers of this province are determined to extract more from the country's arable lands in face of the country's economic boycott.

The Khuzestan Director of Agriculture, specifying this matter, said:

In pursuing this matter of importance, as of now some 6,000 tons of separated wheat have been made available to the farmers of the province. This figure represents a 2,000 ton increase over the amount of separated wheat distributed for planting last year. This is indicative of a larger wheat harvest in the current agricultural year. As the wheat is cultivated, manure has also been placed at the disposal of farmers. This project, which is meant to increase the fertility of the land, is continuing. The Khuzestan Director of Agriculture, in connection with the distribution of provender among livestock keepers in flooded areas and remote villages which are inaccessible by road during the winter snows, and the prospects for extending help and securing feed for this type of villager, said: Whatever is necessary will be done in this area. So far two ships carrying provisions for livestock have called at the country's ports.

The Khuzestan Director of Agriculture considered the activities of the Islamic Agricultural councils a success, and said: We are mutually assured that the councils have done effective work so far. This has been done in such a way that with the help of the Islamic councils the villagers have seen improvements in all their needs at the village level.

9310

CSO: 4906



## IRAN

### CONSPIRATORIAL PLANS ATTRIBUTED TO U.S., PAKISTAN

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 2 Dec 80 pp 1,7

[Text] After the obvious defeat of the political goals of the American-ordered war of the gang of Saddam Hussein against the Islamic Republic of Iran, American imperialism has by no means given up plotting to overthrow our revolution and new republic, but, as before--angered by the abortive efforts of its Iraqi servants and decisive in proceeding with its filthy goals--is preparing new conspiracies.

As we warned a few days ago, it appears now that Sistan and Baluchestan have become the arena for internal and external counter-revolutionaries. According to the news from this region, the khans, feudal lords, SAVAK agents, Maoists, and the leaders of counter-revolutionary Afghani groups, with the help of Saudi Arabian spies and specifically the agents of the government of Pakistan, all of whose strings are pulled by the United States, have expanded their activities.

Mr Mohammadi, the governor general of Sistan and Baluchestan, after meeting with Imam Khomeyni, said:

"The province of Sistan and Baluchestan is one of the most sensitive regions. And counter-revolutionaries have made great efforts to carry out their programs in this region . . . We consider this no small problem. I am sure and certainly with the information at my disposal I know that this is a part of a general internal and external counter-revolutionary program, especially under these conditions in which they try to direct our attention elsewhere while the criminal Ba'thist government of Iraq is busy exterminating in the west, dropping bombs on defenseless, innocent people. Here, too, their agents, American agents, those whose interests have been endangered in the region, and especially, I must say, we have observed

the traces of Bakhtiar here as well [as published].  
(ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, 25 Nov 80.)

As mentioned above, the dictatorial regime of Pakistan under the orders of the United States plays a special role in counter-revolutionary activities in Sistan and Baluchestan. Its final goal is to carry out the plan to separate part of Iranian land and establish a so-called "free government" in order to use it as a bridge to overthrow the revolutionary regime of Iran.

The choice of the dependent and dictatorial regime of Pakistan to play this counter-revolutionary role is by no means accidental. Pakistan has long been transformed into one of the most important bases for the terrorist activities of American imperialism and its Chinese co-conspirators against the countries in the region. Therefore, the news that the World Bank has decided to give the equivalence of \$1,600,000,000 as a loan to the government of Pakistan, although the figure is unprecedented, is by no means surprising. Zia-ul-Haq will receive this \$1,600,000,000 for having rendered the good services in Afghanistan, India, and Iran that his regime has given his American masters. Everyone knows that the World Bank, in spite of its grandiloquent title, is nothing but a tool of Wall Street.

In mid Jun of this year, news agencies quoting a spokesman of Bank America reported that the government of Pakistan, according to an agreement signed in London, will receive \$200 million from imperialist banks. PARS NEWS AGENCY called this amount at that time the "largest financial aid" ever given to Pakistan. The loan of the World Bank, which is eight times that of the London loan, is proof of the increasing importance that American imperialism and its other aggressive allies place on the destructive role of Zia-ul-Haq in the region.

Months ago the regime of Pakistan began an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and through training and equipping counter-revolutionary Afghani outlaws, works to carry out the plans of the Pentagon to overthrow the revolutionary regime of that country. The "green book" of the government of Afghanistan published a few days ago as an official document in the UN General Assembly contains hundreds of revealing pictures and documentation of the interference of American imperialism and its agents and the supremacy-seeking Chinese in that region. This book especially shows how Afghani bands are trained in Pakistan and dispatched to Afghanistan.

Pakistan has been the ally of Chinese Maoists in the recent disturbances of the separatists in India and is constantly increasing its military presence along the borders of India.

On a trip to the United States in early Oct of this year, after meeting with Jimmy Carter, the president of the United States, Zia-ul-Haq pointed out the military responsibilities of that country

towards Pakistan, especially within the framework of the bilateral military agreement of the United States and Pakistan. After the victory of the Iranian revolution and the loss of its military observation posts in Baluchestan, Iran, the United States began to create new posts in Pakistan and near the Straits of Hormuz.

The more obvious the dependence of the regime of Zia-ul-Haq on American imperialism, especially its destructive role against the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran, becomes, the more obvious the dimensions of the horrendous damages which the foreign policy of the transitional government and the liberal foreign ministers after that inflicted upon the international reputation and the utilization of the potentiality of our revolution will become.

As we know, one of the obvious examples of this defiled policy of classifying the friends and enemies of Iran was sitting and talking together with a faithful servant of the United States such as Zia-ul-Haq in the name of Islam and an "Islamic conference." We still remember the words of one of the liberal foreign ministers who said:

"I do not believe that Pakistan is exactly dependent on the United States."

And another one said:

"Pakistan is an independent country whose programs are in line with the standards and well-being of our own country. Every program which would secure the interests of Pakistan would receive our approval."

Fortunately, the deepening of the revolution has clarified the destructive role of the liberals in the area of foreign policy. The present tendencies of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, including a better recognition of international friends and enemies of the revolution, especially in the region, brings about the hope that the Iranian followers of Zia-ul-Haq will be unable to harm the essentiality and usefulness of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Furthermore, we must be aware more than ever before of counter-revolutionary activities in Sistan and Baluchestan, especially the instigations in this region of Zia-ul-Haq's regime, behind which is the United States. The experience of the instigations and the conspiracies of Saddam's regime in Kurdestan and Khuzestan, which finally ended with the military invasion of that criminal regime on Iran, must cause the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran to take immediate, serious, and decisive measures to neutralize the instigations and conspiracies of the United States and Pakistan in Baluchestan and Sistan.

## IRAN

### TUDEH ORGAN CALLS FOR UNITY AGAINST 'BIG SATAN'

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 6 Dec 80 pp 1,2

[Text] The revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran are engaged in a destiny-making struggle. From outside, world imperialism, headed by the United States and at the hands of its subservient reactionary regimes, and from inside, the American fifth column counter-revolutionary force, have openly and impertinently, with all manner of cold and warm weapons, economic, political, and military pressures, media and psychological battles, blackmail and threats, biased reporting, lies, and, finally, instigating friction and enmity, invaded the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

So far, our revolutionary system has proudly neutralized all the conspiracies of world imperialism headed by the United States and the internal counter-revolutionary forces nurtured by it. And it has victoriously left behind several historical confrontations. The greatest, sharpest weapons of the revolutionary people of our country in these unequal battles against external and internal enemies have consisted of: first, the upright and impenetrable faith in the rightfulness of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran and second, the unshakable unity of the people based on this revolutionary belief under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni.

The internal and external enemies, that is, imperialism headed by the United States and the internal counter-revolutionary forces nurtured by it, are perfectly aware of these two sharp, destructive weapons; hence, they expend all their efforts to attain their sneaky and devious goal, which is: first, to destabilize our people's faith in the rightfulness of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran and second, to take advantage of this destabilization in order to destroy the unity of our people, to disperse the united columns of our people, and destroy and defeat the stronghold of the revolution.

World imperialism, headed by the United States and its fifth column internal counter-revolutionary forces, uses various means to attain these goals:



First, they try to de-emphasize the major issue, that is, the reality of the revolution which has created a qualitative, historical change in our country, and the necessity of defending this revolution. And instead, they transform minor day to day problems of the society into major issues. They try to manipulate these problems which have nothing at all to do with imperialism and counter-revolutionaries to their own advantage.

For instance, this or that rightful slogan belongs to the masses, but the masses, because of the more important issue, which is the preservation of the revolution, its continuity and depth, have, for the present time, consciously kept silent concerning this right [as published]. But the internal and external enemies of the revolution usurp this rightful slogan of the people and through public deception, rabble-rousing, and noise, they bring up this slogan in accordance with their counter-revolutionary goals making it out to be the "most important wish" which if not fulfilled will cause the world to turn upside down (!); thus, they make a minor, secondary issue into a major one and toss aside the most important issue of this stage, the preservation, continuation, and deepening of the revolution itself, to be forgotten.

Or, for instance, the burden of various difficulties is on the shoulders of the deprived and workers, who themselves consciously, for the sake of the revolution, graciously bear this burden, while the filthy rich, who are the plunderers of these deprived people, escalate these difficulties, transforming them into major ones.

Or, the centers and offices of a party such as the Tudeh Party of Iran--which has fought for nearly 40 years against imperialism and reactionism on the path of independence, freedom, the progress of Iran, and for the good fortune of the working people of this country, and on this path has made tens of thousands of sacrifices--are unjustly and unlawfully occupied (which is still the case). In spite of this, and for the sake of the preservation of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the party avoids the slightest action which might damage the foundation of the revolutionary system of our country while protesting this unlawful and unjust action. But the opponents of the anti-imperialistic, people's revolution, the liberals, in spite of the fact that they have various positions and facilities at their disposal and they can freely do whatever they want, by taking advantage of the realities that here and there shortcomings exist in "judicial security," "legality," and "freedom" sing loudly their "mourning for freedom" and create an uproar in order to disunite the masses.

When minor issues displace the major ones, the enemies of revolution have achieved their goal. Thus, what is of major importance is that every minor shortcoming observed in the workings of the revolutionary government--even if they actually are just and true--can be used to

directly attack the revolution, to detract from its importance, to destabilize the revolutionary faith of the people, and to spiritually and mentally destroy the forces of the revolution.

Secondly, they try to create separation, enmity, and even confrontation among the forces supporting the Islamic Republic of Iran, particularly among the struggling spiritual leaders and the supporters of scientific socialism. On the one hand, they fabricate "ideological implications" against the fighting spiritual leaders, labeling every one of their anti-imperialistic, revolutionary, progressive actions on behalf of the people as "Marxist programs," through their rabble-rousing and denigrating. On the other hand, they call the sincere and self-sacrificing defense of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran by the Tudeh Party of Iran "hypocritical," "deceptive," etc., making it out to be anti-revolutionary and opposed to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

On the one hand, some sincere but unenlightened groups are encouraged through propagation of the prejudgments left over from the 30-year anti-Tudeh propaganda of the CIA, MOSAD, the Intelligence Service, and the cursed shah's SAVAK in our society to express unjustifiably anti-Tudeh words and actions--the Maoists and other "wet behind the ears," empty-headed novices play a special role in these instigations and disturbances. On the other hand, by taking advantage of personal and group differences of opinion, they create tidal waves and arguments within the ranks of the revolutionary Moslems and fighting spiritual leadership.

Thirdly, they attack the struggling spiritual community under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni in an attempt to weaken the leadership stronghold of the revolution and thus eliminate the greatest existing political obstacle blocking imperialism and counter-revolutionary elements.

In the flood of "media imperialism," in the cesspool of the unrestricted, corrupt, consumer morality inherited from the regime of the demonic power, among the unrest which the regime of the demonic power and his hated SAVAK had established with the aid of Maoists and other counter-revolutionaries, against the "great Satan" of the CIA, SAVAK, MOSAD, the Intelligence Service, Freemasonries, etc., which had been nurtured and trained for half a century in this enslaved and calamity-stricken country of ours and which was unleashed among our simple-hearted people under thousands of guises and masks, among the propaganda and activities of the liberals--who are the path builders of counter-revolution--in such an environment and in realizing that the Iranian revolution has broken the back of American imperialism and that the United States will not so easily take its hands off our throats, /the revolutionaries of Iran must increase their awareness a thousand-fold/ **[in boldface]**.

With understanding, consciousness, and open eyes, we must protect the faith in the rightfulness of the revolution from harm. And on the basis of this revolutionary faith, the sincere forces of the revolution--from any race, tribe, creed, or ideology--under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni must be protected as are the pupils of our eyes.

We Tudehis, in our own way, are quite conscious of the necessities of our time and the history of our country and people and we have acted and still do act upon what we propose to other revolutionary strugglers. No temptation has been able or will be able to cloud our understanding which is based on our knowledge of the great revolution of Iran. And no sophistry or cloud of dust will be able to cripple or cause us to deviate from the recognition of the realities of our own country, our revolution, and the force leading this revolution.

This untiring effort on behalf of the unity of the forces to unite the masses comes from the fact that we have witnessed great tragedies in the history of our country. Even if others have forgotten the lessons of history, we do not have the right to; we cannot watch the blind walking towards the hole and remain silent.

In the distant past, we Tudehis, just like today, called for unity, but there were those who did not hear it and caused the revolutionary movement to be defeated.

Now, bearing witness to history, we call for unity. May the rightful call bring with it this time a rightful response and create a united people's front, which is the surest security for the decisive final victory of the revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the creation of an independent, free, prosperous, and progressive Iran.

9593

CSO: 4906

# RED CROSS WARNED OF 'TORTURE' OF IRAN'S OIL MINISTER

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 14 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] The Swiss chapter of the Union of Iranian Islamic Student Associations submitted a letter concerning the Iraqi Ba'th regime's crimes on Iranian soil to the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Stockholm in which it warned international authorities of the way in which the hirelings of the criminal Iraqi regime are treating Iranian captives, among them Tondguyan, Minister of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The letter said:

The heroic resistance, revolutionary patience, and religious crusading of the Moslem community of Iran, including the revolutionary guards, the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Mobilization of the Oppressed, and all other Iranian combative people's groups have become more seasoned in the face of Saddam--this filthy element dependent on world imperialism--and have truly seen a night of victory and a dawn of freedom. This was a night of victory in which the anti-imperialist resistance of the Iranian Moslem community attained a more revolutionary firmness, and this revolutionary movement, which has established a firm position for itself in history, ultimately goes on to bring this divine matter to a victory for the oppressed, the Imamate, and their heritage, and to make it manifest for all.

In another portion of the statement, with references to the repeated crimes of the hireling Ba'th regime on Iranian soil, such as bombing residential areas, taking non-military prisoners and the abduction of Javad Tondguyan, minister of petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran and several of his companions and sending them to the Iraqi Ba'th regime's torture chambers, it was said:

At this point in time we proclaim to the sleeping consciences of all international organizations, the United Nations, the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and others that brother Tondguyan, his companions, and the rest of the Iranian prisoners who were abducted without regard for the rules of war, are now in Iraqi torture chambers. We see them being harmed in every way by the filthy Iraqi government while the Red Cross and all other international organizations stand idly by. The Iraqi hireling government, the Great Satan America and the international authorities must know that the Moslem community of Iran will not sit by indifferently in the face of crimes and activities such as this.

At the conclusion of the statement the Soviets were also warned about sending every kind of arms, equipment and/or help to the hireling and criminal Iraqi regime.

9310

CSO: 4906



NEW TRANSPORT VEHICLES TO BE MANUFACTURED

Tehran ETTELA'AT IN Persian 14 Dec 80 p 11

[Text] Several members of the Islamic Association of the "Saypa" Company factory presented their problems to one of the Majles representatives at a special meeting.

The "Saypa" Company, which, due to the economic blockade, non-shipment of spare parts and parts for "Renaux" and "Jean" machines to Iran, has been on the verge of shutting down for some time, has many problems and deficiencies. Among these problems, it is carrying more than a 20 million rial deficit, which has almost brought this company to a state of bankruptcy. Recently several university student workers, who had gone to the company to fill the shortage of skilled manpower, put forth a plan designed to change the company's system of production which should be very effective from the standpoint of agricultural policy and assisting the country's farmers.

According to this plan the company's production will change over to "Renaux" automobiles, transport vehicles and "Jean Rousteau" machines. The new plan for the "Saypa" company is also important for its independence of Western countries, especially France, and it also carries great importance inasmuch as it will extend the agricultural economic base in the villages. The confirmation and approval of this plan will lead to the manufacture of many new body parts for "Jean Rousteau" machines by the students themselves and by Iranian workers.

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CSO: 4906

# INCREASE OF IMPORTS OF AUSTRALIAN MEAT REPORTED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 14 Dec 80 p 11

[Text] Economic Service--According to statistics released by the Australian Meat and Livestock Foundation, this country's meat exports to Iran have increased.

The monthly publication of the Iranian Export Distribution Center has announced in this regard: Australian meat exports to Iran have increased more than 600 percent since the revolution. In the span of one year (June 1979 - June 1980) Australia has exported 31,980 tons of meat to Iran, while exports of the same commodity in the same period the previous year were 4,678 tons.

According to estimates by Australian experts, annual Iranian meat imports exceed 150 thousand tons annually. Iran meets its needs in this area through Romania, New Zealand, and Australia.

The Middle East is an important market for sales of Australian livestock. In 1979, out of 5,705,000 head of Australian livestock exports to international markets, around 5,547,000 head were sold in the Middle East. Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia imported 1,836,000, 1,373,000, and 1,221,000 head of livestock respectively during that year from Australia. This is around 8 percent [sic]. In 1979 all Australian meat exports were in excess of 1 million tons. Around 80 thousand [sic] tons of this were sent to the Middle East.

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CSO: 4906

## ISRAEL

### PERES' CABINET CHOICE PROSPECTS ANALYZED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 21 Nov 80 p 17

[Article by Ya'ir Kotler: "The Chairman's Cabinet"]

[Text] Chairman Shimon Peres is entangled in promises. He is parceling them out in abundance to many close friends who are waiting with intense anticipation for senior positions, the reward of which is immediate, in a government which he is likely to form. Such a cabinet is already likely to include many ministers and deputy ministers.

The pressure groups with which the party abounds, not to mention the soloists, are holding the chairman by the neck. Their support of him is always conditional, limited, and in the category of "you take care of us and we will take care of you." Being flexible, the chairman is constantly compromising at the expense of the communal good. More than a few fall victim to his basic character. The party does not have many candidates with whom everyone is pleased, regarding whom everything is understood, except for two: Shimon Peres and Abba Eban.

His close friends are putting pressure on the chairman to choose a leadership team about one-half year before the elections to the Knesset so that it will be possible to present to the electorate the "shadow government" of the Labor Party, with its variations and opinions, for comparison with the quarrelsome team of the disintegrating Likud. The prospects are nil. The decisionmakers are trying to postpone the staffing decision until the last moment so that they will be able to maneuver, pull strings behind the scene, improvise among those who are applying pressure, and place their confidants in senior positions. Why commit yourself in advance on a cabinet one-half year before the elections when it is possible to pull, weaken, cloud, guarantee, and extend.

Peres is developing his own team which is the result of his personal selection. When elections are held, if at all, with a secret ballot, it will become evident that his many stars have no cover, and they lack strong party support. The Tel Aviv bloc (the Yahdav [Together] group) led by MK Eliyahu Speiser and Secretary of the Tel Aviv Workers Council Dov Ben-Meir "will not permit under any circumstances" the creation of faits accomplis.

#### "The Sure Names"

Those in the know, called "extremely close friends" of the chairman, are whispering "sure names" as candidates for the cabinet to be headed by Peres—a reservoir which

becomes stronger every day in direct relation to the chairman's promises to those who are appealing to him and to those who are putting pressure on him:

(1) Shimon Peres: prime minister. If he loses in the competition, he does not intend to serve in a government headed by Yitzhaq Rabin.

(2) Hayim Bar-Lev: the chairman's candidate for minister of defense. He has strong opponents in the two camps who cite his failure as the minister of commerce and industry. MK Dani Rosolio, one of the leaders of Hakibbutz Hame'uhad, says: "I will be much calmer if Rabin is the minister of defense in the Peres government."

MK Amos Hadar and the Secretary-general of the Collectives Movement Arik Nehamkin are not enthusiastic about the chairman's leadership and his senior candidates. In conversations with the leaders of Hakibbutz Hame'uhad, they use hawkish language in common; they express a common "fear"; and they claim that it is impossible to depend upon the chairman for staffing the cabinet portfolios. Personalities in the Collectives Movement are putting pressure on Hakibbutz Hame'uhad to conduct a joint coordinated struggle for the appointment of Rabin as minister of defense--not precisely for the purpose of compensation (if he loses in the competition) but rather of "fear" of a government headed by Shimon Peres flanked by two doves: Hayim Bar-Lev and Abba Eban.

The covert pact between the heads of Hakibbutz Hame'uhad and the personalities (from the old guard) in the Collectives Movement is also working for the addition of Yisrael Galili to Yitzhaq Rabin in a Peres government as a minister without portfolio for the purpose of "balance and supervision" of Abba Eban.

(3) Ya'akov Levinson: the chairman's number one candidate for the finance portfolio. The chairman's attitude towards him is ambivalent in the sense of "respect him and suspect him"--however, it is not only Peres who deals with him this way. The mysterious Levinson, who is concerned about what will happen to his image as the minister of finance, poses conditions which are not easy. He is working for the addition of his loyalists to the government as economic ministers. He is "closed" on Musa Harif, secretary-general of the "Ihud kibbutzim and on the lawyer Hayim Tzadok. His emissary for secret missions is "Amiram Sivan, who was the secretary-general of the Ministry of Finance under Simha Ehrlich of the Likud...

Levinson's many opponents consider him a "Prussian general." They warn that the voters will hasten to sell the "linkages" available to them if the chairman publicly approves his candidacy for the sensitive portfolio. They describe the boss of Bank Hapo'alim as one who is capable of opening safes in the middle of the night, nationalizing funds, savings and businesses, and declaring a moratorium without any pangs of conscience. He is a "destructive talent, a danger to the community, reckless, and a frightening person."

The chairman's close friends are recommending the appointment of the second candidate to be the minister of finance--Moshe Zanbar, who was the governor of the Bank of Israel. He is a longtime sworn adversary of Levinson. It is said that he is today the foremost economist in Israel, however on the other hand, they claim that he is a "man who concentrates on pettiness."



The third candidate for minister of finance is Arnon Gafni, the governor of the Bank of Israel: "A very weak man, appropriate for a weak government headed by Peres." The critics are recommending the appointment of the independent professional David Golan, an experienced banker, economist, and dry technocrat.

The Rabin camp's candidate is Prof Hayim Ben-Shahar, the president of Tel Aviv University, who conceived the reform of the income tax.

(4) Hayim Herzog: minister of information. He is unacceptable to the hawks who consider him a "half-dove." Those who oppose him for this portfolio stress that in a democratic administration, there is no need for a political agent, but the chairman made a promise.

(5) Teddy Kollek: minister for Jerusalem affairs along with his position as mayor.

MK 'Uzi Bar'am also has similar pretensions. He demands that which is obligated to the capital city, which is his stronghold as secretary of the party. He is also the chairman's candidate opposed to MK Eliyahu Speiser for the position of party secretary-general.

#### Two Candidates for One Portfolio

(6) Na'ava Arad, Shoshana Arbeli-Almozelino: candidates for minister of labor and social betterment. The chairman is likely to redi~~vide~~ the ministry in order to entice the NRP with a favorite portfolio which was taken from it--social welfare. Shoshana Arbeli and her husband Histadrut Treasurer Natan Almozelino (from the urban Ahdut Ha'avodah) have "freed" themselves (according to MK Dani Rosolio) from the Rabin camp after the death of their beloved Yigal Allon, to whom they remained faithful during his lifetime. MK Rosolio calls them "deserters" and claims they did this in order to mobilize the 60 percent which is required for inclusion in the list for another term in the Knesset. The two learned quickly--were they perhaps mistaken?--on which side their bread is buttered today.

(7) MK Mikha Harish: minister of energy or deputy minister. He is chairman of the Knesset Energy Committee and is also chairman of the group of doves for "integration" along with MK 'Adi Amora'i and MK Yossi Sarid.

(8) Aharon Uzan, Yehezke'el Zakai: candidates for minister of agriculture. They represent the other Israel in the Collectives Movement.

(9) Lawyer David Liba'i, MK Shlomo Hillel: minister of police. The chairman is developing an inclination to separate the Ministry of Police from the Ministry of Interior, to restore the status quo so that the Ministry of Interior will be free for the NRP or another party. Liba'i, a professor of law in Tel Aviv and a criminologist, is one of the chairman's most vigorous supporters and assists him in his position as chairman of the party's Law Committee. MK Shlomo Hillel is likely to be the representative of the ethnic communities, as he was in the governments in which he served in this position.

(10) Musa Harif: minister of housing. Harif has recently fallen out of favor with the chairman. However, being an ally of Ya'akov Levinson, from the group of Beit Berl, of blessed memory, it cannot be assumed that he will be missing from the

cabinet table (see box). Harif is an architect by profession and a graduate of the Technion.

The opposing candidate of the Yahdav bloc is Rafi Adari, secretary-general of Workers Housing, and a member of the ethnic communities.

The Rabin camp's candidate is Avraham Shohet, head of the 'Arad local council (son-in-law of Levi Eshkol, of blessed memory).

(11) Dani Rosolio, Ora Namir: minister of education and culture. Both belong to the Rabin camp. The chairman wants very much to have Dani Rosolio be a member of the government as an "authorized" representative of Hakibbutz Hame'uhad whose star is rising. The views on Ora Namir are mixed. The "high priestess" of education in Israel does not have many sympathizers.

(12) Hyim Tzadoq, Moshe Shahal: minister of justice. The chairman wants Tzadoq, however it is possible that he will be compelled to submit to the dictate of the ethnic communities (and Haifa) and appoint lawyer Shahal. Tzadoq is also a candidate for minister of interior and police if the ministry remains intact and is not given as an enticement to a government partner.

Yosef Nevo is a candidate of the Rabin camp for the interior portfolio. The housing portfolio has also been "considered" for him.

(13) 'Adi Amora'i: The Alignment's "whip" in the Finance Committee--minister or deputy minister of industry commerce and tourism. It is not impossible that the portfolio will remain open for coalition partners such as the Liberal Party.

Naftali Blumenthal, the boss of Koor, is a Rabin camp candidate for this portfolio.

(14) Yisrael Galili, Ya'akov Tzur: minister without portfolio (Rabin camp).

#### Who is Coming In, Who is Leaving

(15) Yossi Sarid: He is very interested in the position of minister without portfolio. The chairman is very close to him. MK Sarid is afraid of an executive portfolio such as education and culture, which is his favorite. His father was the director general of the ministry for many years. He is asking for time to think about it and also for others "who are not thinking about it." Sarid is a brilliant member of Knesset, intelligent, intellectual, egocentric, narcissistic, a hypochondriac, and a lone wolf. Peres wants to place him alongside Herzog as chairman of the Information Staff. Although the chairman is opposed to his views, he has high regard for him. He defends him at every meeting or house group. His many adversaries will not forgive him for "sticking a knife" in the back of his patron Pinhas Sapir when he moved to Yehoshua Rabinowitz, who was "strong" as the minister of finance. Sarid "always" supports the strong man: From Sapir to Rabinowitz: from Rabin to Peres. He is one of the group of jumpers, those who jump from chuppah to chuppah in the party.

(16) Simha Dinitz, Yosef Tekoa': Candidates for deputy minister of foreign affairs.

(17) Arik Nehamkin: deputy minister of agriculture.

(18) Eliyahu Speiser, Dov Ben-Meir, Jacques Amir: Each of these three wants to be a minister. They have strength. Each one has his own "private army."

(19) Gad Ya'aqovi: It is doubtful if he will be a minister. This estimate is good for today, however there is no way of knowing how the wind will be blowing in the chairman's sails when he forms his cabinet.

The list of promises and honors is still long. We will mention the most prominent ones:

Motta Gur: minister of education and culture or chief of the National Security Council.

New members of Knesset: Ya'aqov Levinson, Hayim Herzog, Simha Dinitz, Motta Gur, Artur Ben-Natan, Aharon Uzan, Musa Harif, Arik Nehamkin, David Liba'i, Aharon Harel, Miki Bar-Zohar, Na'ava Arad, Masha Lubelski, and Yossi Beilin. From the Rabin camp: Ya'aqov Tzur, Yisr el Galili, 'Amos 'Eren (Insurers director general, who was the director general of Yitzhaq Rabin's office when he was prime minister. He maintains a discreet neutrality, walks a thin line between the two camps, and is one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Ya'aqov Levinson, with whom he serves as a member of the board of directors of Bank Hapo'alim), Yosef Nevo, Mikha Goldman, Shevah Weiss, Aharon Yadlin, and Uri Agami.

Leaving the Knesset (apparently): Esther Herlitz, Tamar Eshel, Gad Ya'aqovi, Eli Moyal, Ze'ev Katz, 'Amos Hadar.

Candidates of the ethnic communities: Aharon Uzan, Yehezke'el Zakai, Rafi Adari, Eliyahu Navi, Shoshana Arbali-Almozolino, Moshe Shahal.

Portfolios for a coalition: Portfolios such as health, transportation, communications, religious affairs, and absorption are not being filled. They are also seeking to "free" the justice portfolio as an inducement for a coalition partner.

The chairman is surrounded by "courts" [an allusion to the residences of Hassidic rabbis where the rabbis, surrounded by their followers, preside]. The five closest to him are called a "clique": Elhanan Yishai, Elkana Gali, Aharon Harel, Hayim Herzog, and Artur Ben-Natan. There is a triumvirate of spokesmen: Yossi Beilin, Gideon Levi, and Yisrael Peleg, who are members of the dove camp. They have considerable influence on the chairman. They tend to bend the comments of Shimon Peres leftward. They draw their inspiration with manifest pleasure, according to Yossi Beilin, from MK Yossi Sarid.

Yossi Beilin is called a "fine young man" by the hawks. Of the spokesmen, he is the closest to the chairman. His friend Hayim Rimon is the secretary of Hamishmeret Hatze'ira [Young Guard], its number one person, and also its candidate for the Knesset. Beilin is the political and international secretary of Hamishmeret and its number two person. There is an unpublicized competition for the birthright, a ticket of admission to the Knesset, between the two. Beilin has recently been working quietly to establish a new group in Hamishmeret to consolidate his position by using the divide-and-conquer technique: "Beit Avot" as a joint structure for alumni of Hamishmeret.

## The Pioneer Produced an Opposite Result

Hamishmeret Hatze'ira was severely chastised because of wholesale forgeries uncovered in a census of its members. The new group which Yossi Beilin sought to develop, to the fear of the activists, was designed to prevent competition between Peres and Rabin. It did not succeed. The good name of Beilin, who was a member of the editorial board of DAVAR, was damaged when he became involved with the 'Idan Publishing Company in the case of the anti-Yitzhaq Rabin letters printed in DAVAR--a minor Watergate, Israeli style.

Miki Bar-Zohar has also been a close friend of the chairman. Author of the biography "Ben-Gurion," he is seeking a senior position in the Alignment government, however his prospects are not rosy. In order to build his strength, in 1977 he established Hahavura as an answer to Urim (the aggressive group working successfully for Yitzhaq Rabin), however the springboard for his self-advancement was unsuccessful. Although he immediately received the blessing of the chairman, the shaky structure which he established did not justify the hopes of its founder. The relations today between Peres and Bar-Zohar are a kind of love-hate, depending upon the timing.

There is a triumvirate also in the executive committee, not only in the office of the chairman: The "Young Turks" Yoram 'Eini (head of the Alignment faction in the Histadrut): Gideon Sagi (chief of the administration branch): and David Harnig (assistant of Secretary-general Yeruham Meshel). The three do not intend to concede their piece of the cake.

Aharon Harel (called Popeye) chief of the organization branch in the Histadrut and chairman of the subcommittee for party affairs in preparation for the convention, is the most effective extension of the chairman in the "Kremlin." In theory, he succeeds in subordinating to the Peres camp the overwhelming majority of the secretaries of the workers councils (he is their boss), however in practice, it is doubtful if most of the 30 secretaries will really support the chairman at the convention. Those in the know predict that the majority will vote precisely for Rabin and in this way express their protest of the "pressure" put on them to support Peres. In a secret ballot even the probing eye of the boss Harel cannot penetrate the closed envelopes.

Aharon Harel confirms in an open conversation: "When I ask the secretaries of the workers councils to vote for Peres, I am playing the political game as Rabin used to do in previous competition when he was prime minister." These worrisome comments provoke gloomy thoughts.

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CSP: 4805



BRIEFS

MEXICAN CONNECTION--The Israelis have recently established in Mexico a discreet, semi-official agency ignored by their own embassy, for the purpose of selling armaments to various Latin American countries: Ecuador, Chile, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 17 Nov 80 p 74] 2750

CSO: 4800

# INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MUKALLIS AREA

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 22 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Maria Chakhtoura, "'Expo 1': the Great Challenge of the Mukallis Industrialists"]

[Text] The inauguration will take place today in the presence of the Chief of State.

Organized by the industrialists of Mukallis, "Expo 1" will open officially today at 4:00 pm by the Chief of State, who will be accompanied by several notables.

Whoever has not seen from a distance or close by, flames devastating small and large factories, columns of black or grey smoke covering the sky in this region cannot imagine the challenge launched by the industrialists of Mukallis with this determination to live and work there. "Expo 1," this great show, the first of its kind since the war, with participation by 44 different industries, "revived" from their ashes, is proof positive that everything can start again, and that everything must start again.

Mukallis. Hit directly more than once, and despite all sorts of difficulties due to the country's present situation (financial, social, political), despite the lack of confidence people have in one another, despite the closing down for 18 months at a stretch in 1975 and 12 months in 1978, despite the emigration of skilled labor, despite the entirely legitimate doubt concerning the serious revival of this industrial zone, the region has resumed its former activities accepting a challenge hurled from every quarter.

As one of the industrialists explains, "The factories that decided to go back to work did it as before. We ended up by regrouping the workers by offering them a carefully studied wage scale, and we were also able to put completely new equipment in our factories, and this despite Mukallis's reputation for being 'dangerous zone' to investment among the country's financiers, the revival of Mukallis is real. In no wise lame or halting, this industrial revival is having its effect for us on the local, regional and even international level."

## The Revival of 180 Factories

"The Lebanese were wondering if Mukallis still existed," said Mr Georges Hatem, the dynamic president of the Mukallis Industrialists' Association. "They had the impression that everything had been demolished. Even though due to lack of funds the industrialists have not bothered with the facades of their plants or factories, inside everything is 100 percent rebuilt. Expo 1," Mr Georges Hatem went on to say with great enthusiasm, "was organized to prove that industry still exists. The various battles that took place here destroyed the buildings, but could not injure the determination to rebuild. Everything was done over despite a total absence of official subsidy and of an overall reconstruction program."

As of now, 180 factories have effected full-scale resumption of their activities at Mukallis. On the other hand, there are 120 that were unable to manage it. There is surely no lack of good will. They were completely destroyed, or else they suffered enormous losses. The fact is that a loss measured in 1976 at 7 million L.L. would today equal nearly 20 million or even more.

"The factories now operating at Mukallis," Mr Georges Hatem stresses, "are 'resurrected' ones. The industrialist who lived through the experience of Mukallis and who got back to work has proved that he is indestructible," the president of the Association insists. "This fair we are organizing is the proof of this survival."

"Expo 1" is thus the challenge announced by this region, which includes the most substantial productivity potential of the country. The importance of this potential is not the number of plants and industries, but rather the large number of skills, the production capacity, the profitability of this production for the country, as well as the industrial agglomeration. Mukallis exports 80 percent of its production to foreign customers. It is the true vehicle for ideas and trade and the most representative in the country.

The industrialists of Mukallis have forgotten nothing for "Expo 1," this demonstration of vitality, taking pains with even the smallest details. They have even insured their booths with a national insurance company for the round sum of 13 million L.L., and they invite all Lebanese to come visit and show the confidence they feel. It is important to mention that at Mukallis the industrialists train young apprentices in their factories while paying them wages allowing them to live respectably. They fulfill the function of a technical school in the true sense of the word. They rescue a man or an adolescent and assure him a métier.

With 44 exhibitors and 57 booths, "Expo 1" of Mukallis, with floral decoration provided by "Maisons fleuries" and "Azzam" is an example repeated a thousand times of the dynamism and creativity of private enterprise. Once again, that will be what saves one of the country's greatest resources. When it comes to industry, is that not one of the finest aspects of Lebanon?

2750

CSO: 4800

## JALLUD WANTS IMPROVED TIES WITH FRANCE

LD191005 Paris LE MONDE in French 14-15 Dec 80 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud by Paul Balta, date and place not given: "Tripoli Is Trying To Defuse the Crisis"]

[Text] Tripoli--Libya obviously wants to clarify its relations with France and give them a new impetus whose strength will undoubtedly depend on Paris' response. Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has already stated in public that he would like to meet the head of state after the presidential election. However, a few weeks ago he let it be known through diplomatic channels that it would be advisable meanwhile to establish contacts at a high level--at this juncture by the regime's "No 2" Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud--even if such a visit were to be only unofficial. However, the sacking of the French Embassy in Tripoli is still remembered and a Libyan visit could seem inopportune in a pre-election period. Nonetheless Colonel al-Qadhdhafi intends to accelerate the pace for various reasons. First of all, since several African capitals have broken off relations with Libya, that country would like to improve the situation and discuss political questions with the Elysee in order to define the two countries' role on the black continent in general and in Chad in particular.

A clarification is also called for with respect to bilateral cooperation which has deteriorated since the beginning of the year. At a time when Libya is getting ready to launch, in 1981, an ambitious five-year plan at an overall cost of \$80 billion, French enterprises are not getting any big contracts.

Some industrialists tempted by the important Libyan market--French exports amount to some Fr3 billion to which must be added Fr2 billion received for military equipment--complain that they have to refuse contracts because COFACE [French Insurance Company for Foreign Trade] refuses to guarantee any contract exceeding Fr100 million.

As for the Libyans, they are concerned by certain attitudes. They regret, for instance, that negotiations with the National Geographical Institute (IGN) on mapping Libya have been unsuccessful. As a result, they had to approach an Eastern country. They are worried about the fate of 10 patrol boats ordered by their navy the first of which is scheduled to be delivered toward the end of the year. It is true that delays with respect to payments for military supplies have occurred but it appears that the matter has been settled and, as far as civilian



exchanges are concerned, they have never suffered from any tensions or political disagreements.

Undoubtedly, it is not by chance that the Libyan authorities have recently signed a first contract providing for the resumption of imports of automobiles whose purchase was suspended for the past 10 months to enable the Libyans to reorganize their importing organizations and insure real after-sale service by foreign companies. For Peugeot--the first automobile company to secure more than 30 percent of the Libyan market, including commercial vehicles--this should represent in 1981 a market of 30,000-50,000 cars, not an insignificant quantity.

In view of all this, the French who work in Libya regret that France has abandoned its aim of closely following Italy which has always been in the lead. They also believe that it is in Paris' and Tripoli's interest to have frank discussions at a high level in order to prevent any misunderstandings which, they believe, could this time lead to a major political crisis.

Major Jallud--a practical and realistic man and a skillful negotiator--who granted us a long interview, avoided going into details but mapped out the main lines of the Franco-Libyan dossier to which he has always been anxious to pay close attention. Obviously, he remembers with nostalgia de Gaulle's and Pompidou's Arab policy which enabled Libya to offset Soviet aid in both the military and the political spheres without affecting oil cooperation with the United States. He would apparently like to restore this "golden age" with France.

#### The Problem of West Sahara

"Following the 28 September speech in which Brother al-Qadhafi made overtures to France, we thought that a high-level visit would give a new impetus to bilateral cooperation," he told us. When we remarked that the fact that work has not yet started on the restoration of the chancellery in Tripoli did not make such a visit any easier, he replied: "We are ready to start these repairs soon. We do not want this affair to affect our bilateral relations."

"We are part of Africa and we have duties toward it," he added. "However, we also know that France has had traditional relations with this continent. France came to the conclusion that we wanted to oust and eliminate it from the continent in general and Chad in particular. This is not so. We want to clear up misunderstandings and explain that we do take France's interests in Africa into account. However, we are against any foreign military bases."

Major Jallud explained that two problems have affected the Franco-Libyan dialog. First, the question of West Sahara: "However," he said, "after opposing the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguï el Hamra and Rio del Oro [Polisario], France has adopted a neutral attitude. Furthermore, even the United States is adopting a more positive attitude toward this question." And he added: "Since this bomb has been defused, only the problem of Chad remains. But even in this sphere misunderstandings could be cleared up. We are acting in accordance with the Lagon and Kano accords. However, Chad is Libya's neighbor and we cannot let al-Sadat establish with American help a Hissene Habre-led regime hostile to Libya. Understanding and arrangements with France are possible provided we make things clear to each other."

Major Jallud denied that a "secret agreement" on Chad has been concluded between Paris and Tripoli and returned to the problem of cooperation. He explained that Libya had long envisaged Franco-Libyan cooperation in Africa, especially since France has adopted an independent attitude toward the United States and since it has been playing an active role in the European-Arab dialog. "Anyway," he stated, "it was we who first broached the idea of European-Arab-African cooperation to encourage the transfer of technology."

In conclusion, our interlocutor made specific overtures to Paris by saying: "We want France actively to participate in our five-year plan and we envisage the conclusion of long-term oil supply agreements, taking the French economy's specific conditions into consideration. We would like to see regular and periodical contacts established between Paris and Tripoli and become a tradition."

CSO: 4800

## BRIEFS

CLOSURE OF BENGHAZI AIRPORT--Khartoum, 28 Dec (SUNA)--The Egyptian daily AL-AHRAM reported today that the Benghazi airport was closed for three days while Soviet built planes repatriated 520 Libyan bodies from Chad. The commander of the airport claimed that the bodies were of Cuban and East German soldiers when [words indistinct] of Libya gathered in the airport, said the paper. It added that the military police imposed a blackout in Benghazi to bury the bodies in one cemetery as ordered by al-Qadhdhafi. The paper reported that demonstrations had swept all Libya protesting the announcement by the airport commander that the bodies were of Cuban and East German soldiers, while major tribes held a congress in which al-Qadhdhafi's tribe called on him to "quit" office. [Excerpt] [LD281906 Khartoum SUNA in English 1715 GMT 28 Dec 80]

CSO: 4820

## MOROCCAN ARMY LAUNCHES MILITARY OPERATION 24 DEC

## Operation Described

LD311502 Rabat MAP in English 1200 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Ross Lahmeira (southern Morocco), 31 Dec (MAP)—Moroccan Royal Armed Forces are carrying on with courage and determination, their combing operation here against heavy concentrations of mercenaries. This operation was launched on December 24 at initiative of Royal Armed Forces against five faylaqs [regiments] composed of many katibas [units] of about 5,000 mercenaries concentrated in Ross Lahmeira, 30 km southeast of Abattih and 60 km north of Smara. According to Colonel Ghoudjami, commander of the Sixth Mechanized Intervention Regiment, the mercenaries, after being dislodged from Ras Khanfra, entrenched in Ross Lahmeira, a zone of primordial strategic importance for the control of the region.

Feeling the imminence of a Moroccan attack, the mercenaries heavily mined the field to stop the advance of artillery, but the rapid intervention of military engineers allowed the teams to demine the field and recover some 300 anti-tank mines that correspondents of national and international press were able to count for themselves.

Once the operation was completed, the joint action of the Sixth and Third Mechanized Intervention Regiments and the Sixth Group of Royal Artillery, as well as the Royal Air Force, forced into retreat the enemy which was equipped with sophisticated arms including Stalin organs and heavy arms.

After three days of combat of rare violence, went on Colonel Ghoudjami, the mercenaries abandoned their key positions in Ross Lahmeira, leaving behind scores of dead and wounded, and an impressive quantity of arms, ammunition and vehicles, while Royal Armed Forces took control of this strategic region.

This operation, said Colonel Ghoudjami, aims at establishing a security belt comprising fortifications, mine fields, barbed wire and detection radars, extending from Tan Tan to Smara, passing by Abattih, Ras Khanfra and Ross Lahmeira, in order to prevent any infiltration of the mercenaries towards the littoral and obliging them to retreat towards the east where are operating the "Ouhoud," "Zellaqa" and "Al Arak" unities, with the aim of exterminating them.



According to Colonel Ghoudjami who is also commanding the combing operation here, the mercenaries feeling their end coming put all they had in this battle, but the Royal Armed Forces inflicted a decisive blow to their harassing operations.

Colonel Ghoudjami concluded saying that there remain few km to comb before joining the Smara security belt where is stationed the "Al Arak" formation, an operation which will require about a month and a half and it will be the end of the myth of the so-called "Polisario."

#### Journalists Visit Battlefields

LD302150 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Excerpts] As has been reported, fierce battles took place recently around Ras Lahmeira in Smara District during which the mercenary gangs sustained heavy losses at the hands of the brave Royal Armed Forces, which stand firmly in front of those threatening our territorial integrity.

A delegation consisting of representatives of all Moroccan information media and representatives of world news agencies today visited the battlefield area.

Upon its arrival in Ras Lahmeira, the delegation immediately began to interview the officers, NCO's and soldiers and to inspect the weapons captured by the Royal Armed Forces. The recent battles bear witness to the heroism and bravery of our soldiers, who lie in wait for the treacherous attacks.

As part of the press delegation representing the various national and international information media, we saw the weapons left behind by the enemy after a 3-day battle. These weapons were of Russian, British, German and Chinese make. In addition, the enemy left behind some military trucks some of which were in working order. Moreover, our Royal Armed Forces discovered a number of mines which the enemy planted while retreating from the land and air forces which took part in defeating the mercenaries.

CSO: 4420

## MOROCCO

### BRIEFS

**MOROCCAN-BULGARIAN ENERGY COOPERATION**--The minister of energy and mines returned to Morocco Saturday afternoon after a 1 week official visit to Bulgaria, in the course of which he had several meetings with Bulgarian officials. Following these meetings the two sides agreed on establishing a mixed commission which will be charged with following up on projects involving cooperation between the two countries. We note that in Sofia the minister was received by Mr Lardov, vice-president of the Council of State. The meeting was also attended by the Moroccan ambassador to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Khalil Mohamed Salem. The Moroccan minister and Stamen Stamenov, vice-president of the Council of Ministers and Bulgarian minister of metallurgy and mineral resources, concluded their meeting with the signature of a memorandum in which the conclusions of the discussions were summarized. The Moroccan delegation visited the mining complex of Medette, where it observed the low-grade copper ore deposit which is being mined by the open strip process. The delegation then visited the unit for the benefaction of the ore produced there, which is separated into concentrates of copper, molybdenum, and pyrite. The Moroccan delegation also visited Plovdiv. It saw important lignite mines being operated by the open strip methods, which are analogous to what will be the mining of bituminous schist in Morocco. These Bulgarian lignite mines provide fuel for important thermal generators which produce cheap electricity despite the low caloric value of the fuel used. The delegation then visited a metallurgical complex which produces sulphur under the form of sulfuric acid. On his way home the minister made a short stop in Paris, where he had discussions with the president of the French company Elf/Aquitaine on the work of petroleum prospecting which is taking place in the Gharb and the Rif areas, as well as on the exploitation of bituminous schist. [Text] [Rabat L'OPINION in French 1 Dec 80 p 1] 5170

**MOROCCAN-BULGARIAN ENERGY DISCUSSIONS**--Sofia--The Moroccan delegation headed by the minister of energy and mines has arrived in Sofia, where it has been received by Stamen Stamenov, vice-president of the Council of State and Bulgarian minister of metallurgy and mineral resources, and by Khalil Mohamed Salem, Moroccan ambassador. A first working meeting brought together the delegations of the two countries. The discussions concerned cooperation between the two countries on geological research and on the pricing of minerals, as well as on the resolution of energy problems. Particular interest was shown in the enrichment of low-grade ores, in the treatment of ores containing several metals, and in the production of electricity from fuel of low caloric value, such as lignite. At the end of this meeting the two ministers congratulated each other on the possibilities for cooperation which exist and established two working groups charged with following

up on the conversations. The Moroccan minister, accompanied by the Moroccan ambassador, then went to the Ministry of Energy, where he was received by Nicolas Todoriev, minister of energy. The discussions there concerned the different solutions to energy problems, notably by production of electricity from lignite, nuclear energy, and hydropower dams. This meeting was followed by a working session with office directors and experts concerned with energy studies. This working session made it possible to compare the Moroccan and Bulgarian energy models and to identify possible sectors and forms of action, to be undertaken through an exchange of experience and experts. [Text] [Rabat L'OPINION in French 27 Nov 80 p 1] 5170

MOROCCAN-SOVIET FERTILIZER COOPERATION--Mohamed Karim Lamrani, director of the Moroccan Phosphate Office (OCP), and Messrs Terinasov and Grigoriev, respectively economic counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Rabat and vice-president of ISVETMETPROMEXPORT, on Friday signed a contract concerning exploration and prospecting of the Meskala ore deposit. The signing of the contract took place at the head office of the OCP in Casablanca, in the presence of the Soviet ambassador to Morocco. This first contract is in the framework of the agreement on cooperation between Morocco and the USSR, signed on 10 March 1978 by the Moroccan prime minister and the Soviet prime minister. It should be noted that the work provided for in this contract will be undertaken at the beginning of 1981 and will be completed over a period of 30 months. At the end of this period the results of the study report will make it possible to begin on geological studies and the construction of technical and social facilities which will be completed in order to exploit this important body of ore. [Text] [Casablanca AL BAYANE in French 3 Dec 80 p 1] 5170

CSO: 4400

CROWN PRINCE FAHD INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL LIFE

LD031350 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0730 GMT 3 Jan 81

[Excerpts] Riyadh, 3 Jan (SPA)--His Royal Highness Crown Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has declared that the government of His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-Aziz is carrying out serious studies about bringing urban services to citizens in all villages. His royal highness stated that the government is seriously working to secure this target so that the citizen, whether he is a farmer or a craftsman, will settle down in the village and so that diverse production and the distribution of work are used in the best manner instead of having citizens gather in one location.

In an interview with AL-NADWAH published today his royal highness says that human beings love the places where they are born and live. The benefits and advantages enjoyed elsewhere must be strengthened for the inhabitants of the villages. Prince Fahd speaks about the importance of agriculture to Saudi Arabia. He says that the government under the leadership of his majesty the king wants the citizen, both in rural and urban areas, to turn to agriculture and to sow cereals or produce other agricultural products. He adds that Saudi Arabia, according to experts' and technicians' reports, has great chances of success in sowing cereals, which would make it self-sufficient since water and soil suitable for agriculture are available.

The crown prince stresses adherence to the Islamic faith. He says that the Islamic nation must fully realize that it cannot score any victory or have any weight without rallying around its faith. His royal highness goes on to say that Islamic solidarity, started by the late King Faysal, the Lord's blessings be upon him, has become the main course of Saudi Arabia's policy. His royal highness explains that he does not mean by this that Saudi Arabia should lead the Islamic world, but that we should rally round each other. He gave the example of the faithful who carried the torches of enlightenment and brought it to China, central Europe and other parts of the globe. He points out that these victories were from God to the belief of the faithful and their rallying around this faith and their genuine desire to deliver its light to the bewildered people in the world. Prince Fahd attributes the (?backwardness) of the Islamic nation to the weakness in its link with its faith and to exchanging its faith with materialistic systems, which it believes to be better for life, and for forgetting that the opposite is what is true, since its teachings include complete answers to the requirements of human life, for it leaves no good deed without underlining it and no evil without forbidding it. His royal highness expresses his pride in the leading role of Saudi



Arabia for adhering to the Islamic faith and for the honor God has granted it to the source of the message. He says that we shall continue along this line. The crown prince expresses his hope that God will bring together the Arab nation to rally around its Islamic faith together with the Islamic countries in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

Prince Fahd speaks about Saudi Arabia's aid to Islamic countries. He says that what is intended by this aid is that it should be beneficial and should strengthen these countries both against Israel and in other spheres. His royal highness stresses that it is not Saudi Arabia's nature to work in the dark or through devious methods, for our actions are plain and clear and are within the framework of general interest. Without fanfare Saudi Arabia has extended assistance to most of the Islamic, African and Asian states as it considers it its duty to strengthen the Muslims. The crown prince stresses that, despite the enormity of the assistance extended by Saudi Arabia to brother Muslims in all parts of the world, this assistance will not affect or reduce, due to God's kindness, Saudi programs to provide material potential.

The crown prince speaks about the building of the army and stresses that Saudi Arabia is going ahead with building its army by modern methods. His royal highness says that it has been proved that a homeland which is not backed by a modern technically based concentrated force cannot defend itself. Defense of the homeland is a legitimate right and naturally, because of this, we want to have an integral army, although we do not want to commit aggression against anyone. His royal highness explains that an integrated army must be complete from the organizational viewpoint and the ability to move fast and to provide manpower to protect the homeland. His royal highness calls on the citizens to join the army to protect their faith and their homeland.

In his interview Prince Fahd deals with security and stability in Saudi Arabia. He points out that it occupies first position among the countries of the world in this sphere. This fact has been recorded in UN reports about security. His highness attributes the stability and security enjoyed by Saudi Arabia to its application of the dictates of Shari'ah and also to the concern of the state and of the citizen to realize stability and security; hence every citizen in Saudi Arabia is assured of his security and safety of his money and relatives as long as he does not violate the Shari'ah.

CSO: 4820

## TREATY WITH SOVIETS SEEN STRENGTHENING MILITARY POSITION

## Effect On Syrian Position

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 26 Oct 80 pp 6-7

[Article by Wadi'al-Hilu]

[Text] Damascus--The atmosphere in Damascus is different this time from previous times. A few months ago, the predominant topic of discussion among the Syrian officials and political circles was the topic of the plot and its dimensions and how it sought ultimately to besiege Syria in preparation for isolating and subjugating it through embroiling it in domestic sidebattles which would definitely expose Syria's borders to Israeli invasion at a time when everybody was preoccupied with domestic affairs.

This time, and in the wake of the concern regarding the political and security developments in the Arab area generally and in Syria in particular, there was the decision for unity with Libya which was followed immediately by the conclusion of the friendship and cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union. This time, matters are different and Syria seems to have emerged triumphant from a heated battle. The current talk in Damascus is about unity and about strategic balance with Israel because, first, unity and, second, the treaty give Syria the opportunity to safeguard itself, its interests and its right to peace and provide it with the potential to move at the Arab and international levels to protect these interests. Unity and then the treaty have, according to an official Syrian source, realized relaxation in the Syrian and Arab atmosphere. This in itself, according to the source, is an accomplishment for the Syrian policy and the Syrian people.

But if the unity decision is natural insofar as the Syrian leadership, the ruling Ba'th Party and President al-Asad in particular are concerned, the Soviet treaty had been in the picture but remained uncrystallized. One looks for the reason in Moscow and in Damascus. It is said in the Syrian capital that the Soviet Union had expressed on previous occasions its wish to conclude with Syria a friendship and cooperation treaty similar to the treaties concluded with Iraq, India, Ethiopia and South Yemen. But the particulars of the Syrian position and its direct and immediate connection with the confrontation with Israel had motivated the Soviets not to insist on the conclusion of such a treaty because its conclusion would have meant that the Soviet Union was prepared to confront the United States and Israel at a time when the quality of confrontation was not the prevalent quality in the U.S.-Soviet relations.

But now that the international differences generally and the U.S.-Soviet differences in particular have intensified--especially since the confrontation between the two sides has reached the oil routes and fields and since the United States has set up a belt of military bases and has strengthened its war fleet--now it has become in the interest of the Soviet Union to support every anti-U.S. move or position. What some Arab sources in Damascus say is that if it is in the interest of the Soviet Union to support any anti-U.S. move or position and that if it is in the interest of the Soviet Union to underline its relations with Syria through the friendship and cooperation treaty, then Syria's interest has been secured in accordance with the treaty provisions by which the Soviet Union undertakes to bolster Syria's defense capabilities and to repel danger from it. Therefore, it can be said that the harm done to the two sides as a result of the U.S. policy is what has transformed the unlikely to possible and is what, consequently, has made the Syrian-Soviet treaty a reality and a must to put an end to the U.S.-Israeli arrogance from which Syria has suffered most severely.

#### Interest of Refusing Possible

The talk in Damascus about the merits of the Syrian-Soviet treaty is paralleled in importance by the talk about the faults of the U.S. policy, as if these could not have existed without those. However, the officials in Damascus insist on saying that there is a qualitative difference between the U.S. and Soviet positions vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict and that this difference must be pondered because the Syrian-Soviet treaty, which seems to be so far a national must for Syria, is not--according to an official source--a reaction to a faulty and rash U.S. policy, despite the constant and ceaseless Syrian complaint of the premeditated U.S. disregard for the Arab rights generally and the Syrian rights in particular. The Egyptian president's visit to the occupied Jerusalem came in the wake of U.S. President Jimmy Carter's promises and allusions about exerting efforts for just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The United States then tended the two Camp David accords and the separate Egyptian-Israeli peace [agreement] which led to ignoring the other regional parties concerned and to pushing them to throw themselves in the bosom of Israel [presumably meaning the Soviet Union]. As Egypt acted independently in concluding peace with Israel, the United States acted independently in dictating its conditions. But there is a common Syrian-Soviet interest in rejecting the fait accompli imposed on the Arab area and likely to isolate Syria and the Soviet Union. This is what has made the Syrian-Soviet treaty--which had seemed unlikely earlier despite the special relations between Damascus and Moscow--possible, especially in the wake of the latest developments both at the level of the U.S. military bases and the continued normalization of the Egyptian-Israeli relations and the level of the continuing Iraq-Iran war in an area which Moscow considers to be within the Soviet security belt.

They add in Damascus that the Soviet Union feels, like Syria, that preparations are underway for a ferocious assault and that this assault is aimed at the Soviet Union as it is aimed at Syria. The treaty, prepared carefully after a series of bilateral negotiations in both Damascus and Moscow, was ready for signing before the Syrian president went to Moscow. This is why, according to an official Syrian source, the treaty reflects the joint interests of the two sides. It is needless to say, as one official has put it, that Syria's success in persuading the Soviets to bolster its defense capabilities and to undertake to protect it against any foreign attack is a victory for Syria and for the other Arabs who have found themselves exposed to the

big collapse as a result of the U.S. policy in the Middle East. The United States has ignored so far the Arab peoples' right to life and survival and has been content with supporting Israel to no end and with waving the thick American stick every time one of these peoples has risen to demand its right to security and safety. This is what the Syrian official calls the U.S. contentiousness which has opened the door for an Israeli contentiousness embodied in violating the Lebanese skies, in the constant shelling of the south and in evicting its population. This is why the official says that the Syrian-Soviet treaty is in one respect a direct reply to this particular contentiousness, "not to mention the fact that it constitutes an advanced qualitative step on the path of the strategic balance between Syria and Israel," especially since the Arab world seems more divided now than ever before. There is no Arab state which doesn't seem to be engaged in a bloody conflict with another Arab state and this, according to the Syrian official, turns the Arab solidarity into a mirage that makes convocation of the forthcoming Arab summit impossible.

### Syria's Legitimate Right

In view of all of this, the official circles in Damascus believe that this treaty will create a qualitative development at the level of the confrontation between Syria and Israel because, in addition to forming a barrier in the face of the Israeli riotousness and in the face of any Israeli invasion, the treaty seems to be a warning to the United States which, in the view of more than one official, is responsible for the eruption of the Arab conflicts in this fearful manner. 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, the Syrian minister of foreign affairs, during his tour of a number of Arab countries to which he had presented the treaty to be signed by Syria and the Soviet Union, heard Arab views and positions supporting the Syrian-Soviet treaty from friends of the United States in the Arab area. The reason, according to Syrian sources, is that the friends of the United States are suffering a lot as a result of the U.S. policy and find it appropriate that the United States should feel that its policy is no guarantee for the continued preservation of its interests in the Arab area.

What is more important than all this, according to a Syrian ambassador in one of the West European capitals, is that through the treaty concluded with Moscow, Syria expresses its legitimate right to defend itself and its national interests through alliance with whomever it finds capable of assisting it. In this, the Syrian ambassador says, Syria is like Europe which entered into alliance with the Soviet Union during World War II to rid itself of the Nazism embodied in Hitler. The ambassador stresses the difference between Nazism as a neo-racism and the Jewish racism which is thousands of years old. The Syrian ambassador then wonders how Western Europe permitted itself to enter into an alliance with the Soviet Union to get rid of Nazism while it insists on ignoring the right of Syria and of the Arabs to enter into alliance with the Soviet Union to put an end to the Israeli riotousness.

Another Syria official says that while some people have said that the Syrian-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty is a peace treaty, this treaty is also a war treaty at the same time. He adds that a careful reading of article 6 of the treaty underlines this fact. The text of article 6 reads [in part]: "In case conditions threatening the peace or security of either side or undermining world peace and security as a whole arise, the two contracting sides shall immediately contact each other with the aim of coordinating their positions and of cooperating to repel the danger and to restore peace." This means that in addition to the Soviet support for Syria's



defense capabilities, there is a Soviet undertaking to shoulder a direct responsibility in safeguarding the Syrian "peace and security." This is something that will strengthen the fortitude of the Syrian borders and will, consequently, reduce the danger of harassing the Syrian military presence where it exists now. This is precisely what Syria considers to be a fundamental national and a pan-Arab gain. This gain covers all the Syrian borders as it covers the Syrian military presence in Lebanon. This is why the official says that the Syrian-Soviet treaty will prevent the Israeli invasion, about which some people have been talking, from southern Lebanon. This gain will also secure greater opportunities for stability inside Lebanon itself in the interest of the Lebanese legitimate authority primarily.

#### Effects on Unity

As for the Syrian-Libyan unity, informed Syrian sources find it unlikely that the treaty will have any direct impact, especially since the Syrian decision to conclude the Syrian-Soviet treaty and all the conditions and circumstances leading to it had been discussed in the unity talks held in the Libyan Jamahiriyah between Presidents al-Asad and al-Qadhafi. A Syrian official has said that the Libyan side expressed deep understanding and welcome to the Syrian decision. The visit paid to Libya last Thursday by 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, the Syrian minister of foreign affairs, underlines the Syrian leadership's eagerness to familiarize the Libyan ally and partner with the course of the negotiations held by President al-Asad in Moscow. The Syrian minister's visit also seeks to prepare the dossier for the negotiations which Colonel al-Qadhafi will hold in Damascus in the near future--negotiations to result in the declaration of unity between the two countries. In this regard, some political circles in Damascus talk about a Syrian-Libyan-Soviet alliance in reply to the Egyptian-U.S.-Israeli alliance and say that the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front will be the practical framework for Syria's and Libya's movement.

The question raised now is: What is the impact of the Syrian-Soviet treaty on the current Arab situation?

An official Syrian source says that the treaty has rearranged the priorities in the Arab area at a time when the western efforts are focused on drawing attention to other issues. This means that the Syrian-Soviet treaty has drawn the attention back and strongly to the Israeli occupation forces and through them to the concentrated U.S. military presence in the Arab area.

The Syrian source adds that the treaty has enabled Syria to take the initiative in the Arab area. Some political circles in Damascus say in this regard that the growth of the Syrian military power as a result of the treaty and its supplements will turn Syria into the major regional force in the area which nobody will be able to ignore. It is to be noted that this has happened after the Syrian authorities were able to besiege and isolate the Muslim Brotherhood group domestically. Another official adds: "If we take into consideration the authority's ability to crush the plot at home, the talk about Syria becoming a regional power becomes very significant and gets to bear local and Arab dimensions in its folds because the domestic plot is closely connected with the Arab environment surrounding Syria geographically."

Add to this the fact that the treaty will enable the Soviet Union to regain its natural role in any dialogue or negotiations on the Middle East and this constitutes,

in the opinion of the officials in Damascus, a decisive reply to the Camp David schemes which have sought, among other things, to oust the Soviet Union from the Middle East finally in order to serve the interest of the United States and Israel and not the interest of the just and lasting peace which the United States had advocated.

Finally there is no doubt that this treaty will turn Syria into an attraction center for the national and progressive movement in the Arab world and that Syria "will be, insofar as the Third World Liberation movements are concerned, the symbol of the fight against the U.S. imperialism."

This is insofar as the immediate future is concerned. As for the long range, the whispers in the political circles revolve around bolstering Syria's regional role as a result of the treaty and around how this role will ultimately form a major center of weight in the Arab area. The same political circles do not find it unlikely that there are on the peripheries of the Syrian-Soviet treaty agreements concerning this particular issue because there can be no balance in the area and in the world, according to one official, unless the Syrian role becomes effective in obstructing the Israeli role in the Arab area.

In other words, it seems evident in Damascus that the theory of moving from the phase of steadfastness to the phase of confrontation has entered the stage of practical implementation. This will leave clear effects not only on the Syrian policy but, according to a Syrian official, on the events which will be witnessed by the Arab area.

#### Effects On Lebanon

Paris AL-NAJAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 26 Oct 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Rafiq Shalala]

[Text] It may be difficult to determine in the near future the effects of the Syrian-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty on the situation in southern Lebanon because the events in the Middle East area are accelerating at a pace that makes it impossible to determine the kind of these effects and whether they will be negative or positive.

However, it is certain that the treaty will leave its imprints on the situation in the south because it has been concluded between two sides that have a direct influence on the Lebanese arena.

The Syrian side has possessed since 1975 the ability to influence the situation in Lebanon as a result of the presence of 40,000 troops within the Arab Deterrence Force on the one hand and of the alliances existing between Syria, the Palestinian resistance and the National Movement parties on the other hand. This alliance has been bolstered since Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the conclusion of the two Camp David accords that have upturned the situation in the Middle East. This is in addition to the presence of military cooperation between Damascus and the resistance--a cooperation whose results have been evident on more than one occasion in the past few months.

The Soviet Union also enjoys the ability to influence the situation in the south from two angles: A regional angle and an international angle.

Regionally, there is firm cooperation between Moscow and the Palestinian resistance at the military and political levels--a cooperation that enables the Soviet Union to deal as a supporting friend, and not as a major power motivated by its international interests, with the Palestinian resistance. Moreover, the official U.S. stance of opposition to the PLO makes this organization move directly toward alliance with the second major power in the world, i.e. the Soviet Union, especially since this power opposes, on the basis of its political principles and its fundamental positions, the U.S. imperialism and its role of nurturing conflicts among the small countries in order to impose the "capitulationist solutions."

Internationally, the Soviet Union has a unique role in establishing the international balance and in safeguarding a minimal military truce in any part of the world where the eruption of war may lead to undermining this balance or to giving one country predominance over another, especially if the country given predominance is considered a "state" that can be added to the 50 states of the United States or that turns politically and militarily in the U.S. orbit.

Add to this the fact that the Soviet Union also has a major role in the United Nations in its capacity as a state with the veto right in the Security Council and a state which can obstruct with a "yes" or "no" any UN resolution adopted to settle any conflict in any country.

#### Positive Effects...

This is why observers in Lebanon believe that the Syrian-Soviet treaty will be reflected in one way or another in the situation in the south. There are those who believe that the treaty will bring peace to the south after years of fighting and explosiveness whereas others believe that the treaty may contribute to escalating the tension.

However, the prevalent opinion is that under the shadow of the treaty, the issue of the south has become more internationalized than before and that the Soviet Union will find itself directly responsible for the future of this area by virtue of the fact that it enjoys the trust and support of two fundamental parties that move the situation in the south either positively or negatively, namely Syria and the Palestinian resistance.

Those who hold this opinion say that the new treaty will freeze the Middle East situation, especially the situation in southern Lebanon, considering that this area has become the only flaring front that can inflame the other fronts. The treaty, in the opinion of these people, will prevent a large-scale explosion in the Arab-Israeli conflict and will prevent, in particular, Israel from launching--as has been expected--a blitzkrieg against Syria, either directly or through Lebanon. This possibility also means freezing some of the Palestinian operations launched from the south (and is there any place other than the south?) to avert reactions until some sort of a balance is restored to the situation in the area. Israel will count to 10 before embarking on a military step against Syria, whether from the south or from somewhere else, because the treaty stipulates, among other things, that the Soviet Union assist Syria in case it is exposed to any foreign aggression. The stay of

Gen Mustafa Tlass, the Syrian minister of defense, in Moscow after President al-Asad's return was for no purpose other than to reach agreement on new types of sophisticated Soviet weapons to be shipped to Syria quickly in order to bolster its combat capability and its defensive weapons and to supply Syria with sophisticated radar networks and very modern defense means.

Such an arsenal will permit Syria (to repel) any Israeli aggression to which it may be subjected. Moreover, and this is where the danger lies, such an arsenal will lead to a U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the area because Washington will not allow its ally, Israel, to be defeated. It is completely unlikely, that such a confrontation will occur under the shadow of a detente between the two super powers which is growing stronger by the day on the basis of the policy of the division of the spheres of influence. [Paragraph as published]

Those who hold this opinion add, in the course of underlining the positive nature of the treaty, that the culmination of the Syrian-Russian cooperation will enhance Syria's ability to move in the direction of the Palestinians and to escalate its cooperation and coordination with them in order to keep the situation in the south calm, and not to provide the opportunity for the emergence in the area of tension gaps that may have a negative impact on the current entire situation. Any Syrian step in this respect will be undoubtedly supported by the Soviets, thus rendering the resistance incapable of rejecting or confronting it because the Soviet support will tip the scales in favor of any such step. A number of resistance leaders have revealed that the new reality has compelled them to live in a stage of concern dictated by the [possible] freezing of their military movement which forms at present the major card in the resistance's hand for pressure to achieve the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

The other aspect of this cooperation lies in having Damascus guarantee the safety of the resistance in Lebanon, whether from Israel or from the Lebanese sides which the resistance accuses of trying to liquidate it. In this regard, the declared official Syrian position is to protect the resistance from Israeli air raids through having Syrian aircraft intercept Israeli aircraft whenever they violate the Lebanese skies in military or reconnaissance operations. This has been evident in the recent months which have witnessed dogfights between the Israelis and the Syrians in the skies of southern Lebanon.

What makes the possibility of a flareup in the southern front unlikely, in the view of the people who hold this opinion, is that the Arab states, especially Syria, and the resistance view with strong concern the developments of the Iraq-Iran war (whose end seems relatively remote) because its results are not known and because the danger of its continuation may lead to an upheaval of the conditions in the area generally and in the Gulf in particular where it may produce new political and geographic changes that lead, among other things, to the redistribution of the spheres of influence between the two superpowers.

This is where the significance and serious nature of the Syrian-Soviet treaty emerge in such a way as to make the observers in Beirut believe that its results may exceed in importance the consequence of al-Sadat's visit and of the two Camp David accords which have entrenched Egypt's departure from the Arab ranks and Egypt's adoption of independent positions that have produced no positive results so far.



## Fears of Negative Aspects

As for those who believe that the treaty will have a negative impact on the situation in the south, they express this impression on the basis of given facts [mu'tayat] indicating that Israel may "go crazy" before the U.S. presidential elections and embark on a venture in the south and then expand it beyond with the aim of imposing a new fiat accomplishment in the area. In case Israel embarks on such a step, Syria will move, by virtue of its commitments to the resistance, to repel Israel and the confrontation will then occur because, these people fear, the blow which Israel will deal the resistance will be a painful blow towards which Syria will not be able to stand idle. These people who believe that the treaty will have a negative impact draw up a scenario of the details of the confrontation saying that Damascus will confront the Israeli operation, if it is not limited and with definite targets, and that this means the eruption of a confrontation between Damascus and Tel Aviv that may lead the Jewish state to strike Syria or its forces operating in Lebanon, especially the forces amassed in al-Biqa'. An Israeli aggression against Syria will require Moscow to move to the aid of its ally which is now tied to it by a comprehensive cooperation treaty that includes, among other things, the military aspect-- which is the most important aspect of the treaty. However, no effective Soviet intervention will take place unless all diplomatic efforts are exhausted. There are parties in the Lebanese National Movement which put their wager on the treaty provisions, saying that any Israeli operation will face this time a Soviet deterrent whose facade will be Syria.

Those who hold this opinion say that Moscow may be dragged into such a confrontation if fabricated by Israel, perhaps on the instructions of the United States, to test how serious the Soviet-Syrian military cooperation is and how far this cooperation will go. Such a Soviet involvement will be justifiable because two main allies of Moscow (the resistance and Syria) will be involved. Moreover, any Israeli aggression against Syria's security, whether in the Syrian territories themselves or in Lebanon, requires Moscow to confront it to give the treaty its real and tangible effect.

Those who hold this opinion believe that such a confrontation may occur in the next few weeks because it will become unlikely after the U.S. presidential elections, regardless of their outcome--unless the Americans in their elections tip the scales in favor of radicalism and against moderation.

## Toward Political Movement

There are also those in Lebanon who believe that the Syrian-Soviet treaty will have a positive effect on the political situation because it may motivate Syria to deal with this situation quickly and in the interest of the authority by facilitating the realization of some positive steps which will bolster the state's presence and prestige and will give the state the opportunity to spread its rule over new parts of the Lebanese territories.

Those who hold this opinion recall the role played by (Aleksander Soldatov), the Soviet ambassador in Beirut, through the contacts which he held with a number of Lebanese political leaders and which centered mainly on facilitating the work of the legitimate authority and on enabling it to devote its efforts to realizing the first steps of national detente.

These people say that the Soviet position, reflected in Ambassador Soldatov's moves, caused the government leaders to be satisfied with the Soviet cooperation with the authority. This satisfaction has been expressed by a number of ministers, especially by Fu'ad Butrus, the minister of foreign affairs, despite his constant tendency toward pessimism.

One of the ministers has said that the Soviets have played a major role in making the stances of their allies in Beirut, especially the stances of some of the National Movement leaders, flexible and helpful, even though these leaders have continued to wrap their stances with principles and slogans that are necessary to block the path in the face of oneupmanship. The same minister has cited as an example the current relations between the Lebanese Communist Party and the government leaders--relations that are so positive that George Hawi, the Communist Party secretary general, has not hesitated in his frequent visits to President Ilyas Sarkis and Prime Minister Salim al-Huss to exert efforts to bring the views closer and to create a soft atmosphere in the relations between the authority and the National Movement.

Even though any judgement concerning the results of this treaty on the Lebanese arena generally, and on southern Lebanon in particular, may seem premature, the prevalent tendency among the officials is to tip the scales in favor of the positive aspects and against the negative ones, especially since the treaty has been concluded without apparent opposition on the part of the United States which would have moved in a practical way had it believed that the treaty would upset the balance of international detente. It may even be that Washington has found positive aspects in the treaty because it gives Syria additional cards that enable it to control the course of speeding up movement in the Middle East situation or, at worst, of freezing this situation--a freeze which would still be better than an explosion. Perhaps the touchstone will be southern Lebanon which has become more internationalized now that the Soviet Union has become interested in maintaining peace there, whereas it refrained in the past from voting on the Security Council resolution to send UN forces to southern Lebanon, and now that the Soviet Union has knocked on the door of the Iraq-Iran crisis but has not gotten deeply involved in it yet.

#### Alteration of Military Balance

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 26 Oct 80 p 9

[Article by Tawfiq Nakhlah Ibrahim]

[Text] The Syrian-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty concluded on the 8th of this month carries military aspects in its folds and entails in particular strategic changes in the area.

Insofar as the Soviet Union is concerned, the treaty gives Moscow a new gain, having prepared the way for it to return to the Middle East theater. This is the first Soviet diplomatic success in the area since the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty on 26 March 1979.

The Soviet entry will not be psychological only. Article 10 of the treaty which calls for strengthened military cooperation undoubtedly means in the short run a considerable increase in the number of Soviet military advisers (estimated at 3,000 advisers currently). What is of primary interest to the Soviets are the facilities that Damascus has given the Soviet navy to dock in Tartus and Latakia ports. These facilities can be likened to those Egypt has given the U.S. navy in Alexandria Port. This

particular point disturbs NATO, especially Turkey--NATO's advance eastern stronghold--because in the case of the eruption of conflict between the east and the west, the Soviets can pose a threat to the U.S. ships using the Turkish ports, thus turning the Mediterranean into a Soviet-U.S. sea. But the U.S. Sixth Fleet is incapable today of moving as easily as it could in the past.

However, one of the most significant and serious results is connected in particular with the future relations between Moscow and Damascus and concerns the following: This treaty is similar to a large degree to the treaties binding Moscow to the Warsaw Pact countries, meaning that it does not exclude direct intervention by the Soviet forces should the need arise (article 6). This means that any future Arab-Israeli conflict will witness a Soviet-Israeli confrontation, especially in the sphere of tanks. Syria recently asserted that it possesses 3,000 T-72 tanks for which it lacks the trained crews. The Soviet gain resulting from strengthened military cooperation with Syria will crystallize in increased sales of Soviet weapons to Syria, in addition to the flow of hard currencies to Moscow now that Libya has promised (within the framework of the Libyan-Syrian unity) to pay the cost of the Syrian weapon purchases.

Militarily, it is expected that the treaty will lead to stiffening the Palestinian position and, perhaps, to bolstering the Palestinian military presence. Moscow, which has now a stronger presence in Damascus than ever before can watch the PLO to prevent its marching on the path of negotiation with Israel through the Americans as a substitute party. Moscow has always been seeking to have the solution to the Middle East come through the Geneva conference and in a manner similar to the Paris conference on Vietnam--i.e. within a format through which Washington will make concessions in its positions. As for Syria, the treaty gives it a Soviet umbrella, with all its vast military cover, against any Israeli attack. The possibility of such an attack under the area's unstable conditions is not unlikely. Moreover, Syria will stay away from any confrontation with Iraq in case the latter triumphs over Iran. But in case Iran triumphs and the area gets to be exposed to further instability as a result of Khomeyni's revolutionary tide, then Moscow will keep its eyes open to make sure that the existing regime in Syria survives.

Regionally, there will also be a stiffening in Tel Aviv's positions as a result of the Syrian-Soviet treaty. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's statements on the Soviet expansion in the area portray Israel as the western stronghold confronting the Soviet assaults launched by proxy through Arab sides. Such statements will find attentive ears in Washington.

On the other hand, it seems that Henry Kissinger's theory concerning Syria--a theory which finds in this state "the most important character in the area"--will no longer have the same effect among the U.S. officials. This will mean a change in the U.S. position vis-a-vis the Lebanese crisis, especially if Reagan is elected, because the Syrian-Soviet treaty is not in the interest of President Carter, considering that it has eliminated finally the hopes that Syria would join the Camp David accords.

As for Iraq, it may consider the treaty a Soviet stab in the back, especially since Syria has supported Iran openly. However, this does not mean an immediate change in Iraq's alliances in favor of the United States, considering that diplomatic relations between the two countries are severed.

At the level of military technology, there is no doubt that Syria will experience a qualitative development in its defense means. The visit paid to Syria on the 8th of last June by General (Makirenko), the head of the electronic warfare section of the Soviet Ministry of Defense, permits us to think that the electronic surveillance capabilities watching the Israeli military movements (especially in southern Lebanon) will be bolstered. Moreover, the incomplete Syrian radar cover, especially on the Lebanese front, will be completed to put a decisive end to the reconnaissance flights carried out by the Israeli air force over Lebanon. The Syrian antiaircraft missile system, which includes in the groundforces SAM's 6,7,8 and 9 and in the air force 24 missile batteries (part of which is deployed in al-Biq'a' plain in Lebanon), will be equipped with Soviet radars used by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries to observe missiles and aircraft flying at high altitudes. As for aircraft, Damascus will no longer encounter the difficulties it has been facing in the delivery of Mig-25 aircraft.

Insofar as the Europeans, especially France, are concerned, sales of military hardware to Syria will decline and the doors of the Libyan market (one of the biggest consumers of Mirage aircraft) have already been closed in the face of such sales. We should keep in mind that a part of the Libyan Mirage aircraft will end up in Syria in accordance with the recent agreements concluded between Damascus and Tripoli.

All this indicates that in the military sphere, the Syrian-Soviet treaty contains nothing but gains for Damascus in the long run. But financially, the Saudi aid to Damascus may shrink as a result of Syria's rapprochement with Moscow--rapprochement which Riyadh does not relish. Moreover, the U.S. aid to Syria will drop to zero for the same reason.

It is not unlikely that the question of bolstering the Syrian air force formed the crux of the talks which Minister of Defense Gen Mustafa Talas held in Moscow--talks which compelled the minister to stay in Moscow several days after President Hafiz al-Asad had left it. It is worth noting that the backbone of the Syrian air force is comprised of 215 Mig-21 aircraft which can no longer face the F-16's (with which Israel will be supplied), not to mention the F-15's that can only be paralleled by the Mig-25's (and to a degree by the Mig-23's, if flown by skilled pilots). This means that Syria needs to possess 50 Mig-27's, 30 Mig-23's and 12 Mig-25's, which it possesses [sic], to be able to confront the Israeli military force alone.

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TUNISIA

PRIME MINISTER MZALI CALLS FOR COOPERATION WITH LIBYA

LD301552 Tunis TAP in English 1400 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Tunis, 30 Dec (TAP)--Mr Mohamed Mzali, Tunisia's prime minister, reiterated his call to Libya for the establishment of friendly relations of cooperation between the two countries.

"We must forget misunderstandings and think of our countries' future and interests," he said in the address he delivered on Monday before Tunisia's Parliament which was examining the state budget for 1981.

As a first step towards reconciliation Mr Mzali proposed, once more, to Libyan leaders, to resolve the continental shelf issue on the basis of joint exploitation of the area's resources through a joint company.

Both countries having already referred the matter to the International Court of Justice of The Hague, Mr Mzali pointed out that even the verdict of the court could be a source of conflicting estimates and that it is thus essential to start right now providing new opportunities to restore confidence and positive cooperation.

"By settling the continental shelf affair and implementing progressively the agreements concluded in 1972 and 1973, we would get half-way towards the unity longed for," he said.

"We are realistic and we believe in it even if some people consider it as a dream. As a matter of fact, it will remain the dream that both countries' youth will cherish until it comes true."

CSO: 4420

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

NEW CUBAN ENVOY--During an official ceremony at Carthage Palace yesterday morning President Bourguiba received the credentials of the new Cuban Ambassador to Tunis Raul Barzaga Navas, in the presence of Foreign Minister Hassen Belkhoda. [Excerpt]  
[LD301503 Tunis L'ACTION in French 20 Dec 80 p 1, 6]

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